

JOHNSON'S LIFE OF MILTON

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WITH
INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

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NEW EDITION

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NOTE

THE following are the principal books and editions dealing with Johnson and Milton, which have been consulted in the compilation of the Introduction and Notes —Macaulay's *Life of Johnson* in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and *Essays on Croker's Boswell*, and on Moore's *Byron* · Leslie Stephen's *Johnson* (English Men of Letters, 1878) Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, edited by G. Birkbeck Hill, Hallam's *Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the 15th, 16th, and 17th Centuries* (1839) Macaulay's *Essay on Milton* · Mark Pattison's *Milton* (English Men of Letters, 1879) Masson's *Life of Milton* (6 vols., 1859-1880): Masson's *Poetical Works of Milton* (3 Vols , 1890): Browne's edition of Milton's poems (Clarendon Press). and the editions of Johnson's *Life of Milton* by Cunningham (1854), Matthew Arnold (1891), Deighton (1893), and Ryland (1895). I have also to thank Principal Selby, of the Deccan College, Poona, for the use of some manuscript notes which he kindly placed at my disposal.

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INTRODUCTION.

SAMUEL JOHNSON was born at Lichfield, September 18, 1709. His father, Michael Johnson, an ardent High Churchman and Tory, was a bookseller of sufficient note to be a magistrate of the town, and in 1709 sheriff of the county. To his son he seems to have transmitted a constitutional taint, in the form of scrofula, a disease for which the royal touch was believed to be a more efficacious cure than any medicine. Hence one of Samuel's earliest recollections was that of a stately lady wearing diamonds and a long black hood, who was none other than Queen Anne, and by whom he was "touched for the king's evil." But it was in vain. His features were scarred and distorted by the disease, his sight was impaired, and throughout his life he was subject to odd convulsions and gestures, which may have had their origin in the same cause. "In the child," says Macaulay, "the physical, intellectual, and moral peculiarities which afterwards distinguished the man were plainly discernible; great muscular strength accompanied by much awkwardness and many infirmities, great quickness of parts, with a morbid propensity to sloth and procrastination, a kind and generous heart, with a gloomy and irritable temper."

In spite of his natural indolence, Samuel acquired a good deal of knowledge (especially of Latin authors) at the Lichfield Grammar School and elsewhere, before the age of sixteen, when he left school, probably in order to learn his

father's business The next two years, accordingly, he spent at home, devouring the books in his father's shop As Mr. Stephen expresses it, "he gorged books: he tore the hearts out of them, but did not study systematically " The result was that he was able to say at the age of fifty-three, that he knew almost as much at eighteen as at any subsequent period of his life

In the meantime his father's business was declining, and the family were sinking into poverty Nevertheless, in 1728 Samuel was able to go into residence at Pembroke College, Oxford, though the precise means by which he supported himself there are not known with any certainty. His ungainly and poverty-stricken appearance exposed him to many mortifications, which led him to show as little regard for the academical authorities as Milton, whom he censures in this respect He did not, however, proceed to the same lengths as Milton in attacking the *system* of the university, the traditional Toryism of which was in harmony with Johnson's original prejudices But whatever the resources were on which he had relied, they seem to have failed him in the course of 1731, and he had to leave Oxford without any degree At the end of the year, his father died, most of the little property left went to the widow, and Samuel's patrimony amounted to no more than twenty pounds During the next thirty years, his life was one long struggle with poverty

During the first portion of this period he tried to earn his living by what has been called "the most depressing and least hopeful of employments," schoolmastering In 1735, having no money and no prospects, he proceeded to fall in love, and married a widow named Elizabeth Porter, forty-six years of age "To ordinary spectators the lady appeared to be a short, fat, coarse woman, painted half an inch thick, and dressed in gaudy colours But to Johnson, whose passions were strong, whose eyesight was weak, and who had seldom or never been in the same room with a woman of real fashion, his Titty, as he called her, was the most beautiful, graceful, and accomplished of her

sex" (Macaulay). The marriage, at any rate, did not turn out an unhappy one

In the following year (1736) Johnson started an "academy," and advertised for pupils, but few came. Neither his personal appearance and character nor his own desultory education were such as to qualify him for success in the profession he had adopted; and in 1738 he decided to seek his fortune in London, whither he was accompanied by one of his few pupils, David Garrick, afterwards the celebrated actor.

In the metropolis fresh mortifications and hardships awaited him, and it was in these years of misery that he acquired the uncouth manners which marked his subsequent career. for the rest of his life he was slovenly in dress, and ravenous in his manner of eating, gorging his food with such violence that the veins on his forehead swelled and the perspiration broke out. Of the sordid details of his life at this time not much is known. but before long he obtained regular employment from the bookseller who owned the *Gentleman's Magazine*, to which his most noteworthy contributions were the Parliamentary speeches. The debates at that time were not allowed to be reported, but Johnson was supplied with a few notes of the proceedings, which he had to work up into regular speeches, for both the Ministry and the Opposition. At this time too he gained some reputation by the poem called *London* (an imitation of the third satire of Juvenal), which was published anonymously in May, 1738, and went into a second edition at the end of a week. Pope, who had recently published his imitations of Horace, was sufficiently struck by the performance to seek out the author's name, and to try to do something for him but his efforts came to nothing. For this poem Johnson received ten guineas.

During the years which followed, his literary reputation increased, until in 1747 several leading booksellers combined to employ him in the preparation of an English Dictionary. This book, which earned him the title of "the great lexicographer," occupied him until 1755, and for it

Johnson received between fifteen and sixteen hundred guineas, out of which he had to pay various assistants and copyists. The work was, as he himself expressed it, "harmless drudgery," which the rise of scientific etymology has rendered obsolete; but it helped him into his subsequent position of monarch of the English literary world.

During the progress of the Dictionary he sought relaxation in writing the *Vanity of Human Wishes* (an imitation of the tenth satire of Juvenal), which was published in 1749, and for which he received fifteen guineas. A few days later, his tragedy *Irene* was produced by his friend Garrick at Drurylane Theatre, one of "the heaviest and most unreadable of dramatic performances" (Stephen), it nevertheless ran for thirteen nights and brought its author nearly three hundred pounds.

In 1750 Johnson essayed to repeat the success of the *Tatler* and *Spectator* of Steele and Addison, and for two years he brought out twice weekly the *Rambler*, containing short essays on social, literary, and moral topics. "Its ponderous pages," says Stephen, "mark the culminating period of Johnson's worst qualities of style. The pompous and involved language seems indeed to be a fit clothing for the melancholy reflections which are its chief staple." The last *Rambler* appeared in March, 1752, and a few days later Mrs Johnson died. Johnson's grief was bitter, but he turned for relief to hard work, and in three more years the Dictionary appeared. "It was hailed with enthusiasm such as no similar work has ever excited. The definitions show so much acuteness of thought and command of language, and the passages quoted from poets, divines, and philosophers, are so skilfully selected, that a leisure hour may always be very agreeably spent in turning over the pages" (Macaulay).

The next few years were spent in petty literary work amid a state of indebtedness, but in the spring of 1758 Johnson started a second series of essays called the *Idler*, which appeared weekly for two years. Whilst he was in the midst of this work, his mother died at Lichfield, at the age of 90 (January, 1759), and to defray the funeral expenses Johnson

wrote, in the evenings of a single week, his story of *Rasselas*, the scene of which is laid in Abyssinia. For this he received a hundred pounds, and twenty-five more for a second edition. But a great change in his way of life was at hand. In 1762, the ministry of the new king, George III., offered him a pension of three hundred pounds a year, which he accepted, in spite of his definition of a pension in the Dictionary as "pay given to a State hireling for treason to his country." Henceforth he was free from the daily anxiety and drudgery which he had experienced for more than thirty years.

In 1765, after a delay of nine years due to his incurable indolence, he produced a new edition of Shakespeare, for which he had received large subscriptions in advance. Its publication, in Macaulay's words, "saved Johnson's character for honesty, but added nothing to the fame of his abilities and learning." It would be difficult to name a more slovenly, a more worthless edition of any great classic.

The remaining twenty years of his life are the period best known to us: for though he wrote but little, he talked a great deal, and the records of these conversations have been preserved in the celebrated work of James Boswell, a young Scotch lawyer, who came to know Johnson in 1763, and ever afterwards worshipped him. To Boswell too is owing a great part of the fame of that literary club of which Johnson was the centre, and which numbered amongst its members Sir Joshua Reynolds, Burke, Goldsmith, Garrick, Sheridan, Gibbon, and many others of the most eminent scholars and wits of the day.

In 1765, also, Johnson became acquainted with a wealthy brewer, named Thrale, and his wife, and for sixteen years spent about half of his time under their roof. With them he travelled to Bath and to Brighton, to Wales and to Paris. At the same time he had a house of his own near Fleet-street in London, where he maintained a number of poor dependants, presided over by a blind lady, Miss Williams. In 1773 he was persuaded to accompany Boswell in a tour to the north of Scotland and the Hebrides, then inhabited

by a rude and simple race of islanders. A narrative of this journey was published by him in 1775, in which year also the University of Oxford made him a D C L, he had been an LL D of Dublin University for the last ten years. Two¹⁷⁷⁷ years later he undertook what was destined to prove the most important of all his works, the *Lives of the Poets*. Originally meant only to be short biographical notices for a new edition of the English poets, they developed into ten volumes, published 1779-1781. In the latter year Johnson was much affected and shaken by the death of his friend, Mr Thrale. His own infirmities were growing upon him, but for a time he was carefully and affectionately nursed by Mrs Thrale, until her growing attachment to an Italian musician, named Piozzi, caused an estrangement between them. In June, 1783, Johnson had a paralytic stroke, from this he recovered, but he suffered much from asthma, dropsy, and other complications, and in June, 1784, the marriage of Mrs Thrale to Piozzi caused him to finally break off their long-standing friendship. As the winter approached, his infirmities increased, together with his gloom and the terror of death by which he had always been possessed. Towards the end, however, he became calmer and more patient, and died peacefully, December 13th, 1784. A week later he was buried in Westminster Abbey.

"Since his death," writes Macaulay in conclusion, "the popularity of his works—the *Lives of the Poets* and, perhaps, the *Vanity of Human Wishes* excepted—has greatly diminished. His *Dictionary* has been altered by editors till it can scarcely be called his. An allusion to his *Rambler* or his *Idler* is not readily apprehended in literary circles. The fame even of *Rasselas* has grown somewhat dim. But though the celebrity of the writings may have declined, the celebrity of the writer, strange to say, is as great as ever. Boswell's book has done for him more than the best of his own books could do. The memory of other authors is kept alive by their works. But the memory of Johnson keeps many of his works alive. The old philosopher is still among us in the brown coat with the metal buttons, and the shirt which

ought to be at wash, blinking, puffing, rolling his head, drumming with his fingers, tearing his meat like a tiger, and swallowing his tea in oceans. No human being who has been so long in the grave is so well known to us." Both in religion and in politics his convictions were of the strongest, often amounting to narrow prejudices but he was always honest and independent, and, however rough externally, one of the most tender-hearted of men.

II

The literary period of which Johnson is a principal representative was pre-eminently an age of prose. The century which followed the Restoration saw the creation of a modern English prose style, "clear, plain and short," in place of the lengthy and complicated periods of Milton and the older writers. By Johnson's time the victory of the new style was already complete, and not in its own sphere only it had invaded that of poetry, from which the same regularity, precision, and technical perfection were demanded. These qualities constitute what is generally understood by the term "correctness," so often applied to the writers of the 18th century. Macaulay, indeed, in the Essay on Moore's Life of Byron, has pointed out the ambiguity of the term "correctness." In one sense, he says, Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, and Milton may be called the most correct of poets, because most careful to conform to rules which have their foundation in truth and in the principles of human nature. But this is not the sense in which Pope and his imitators are called the most correct of English poets, their correctness has reference to certain artificial rules and ceremonious observances, which in the case of Pope were redeemed by his brilliant wit and terseness of expression, but which sank in his successors into monotonous and mechanical feebleness, leading to the revolution in poetry inaugurated by Cowper and Wordsworth.

Now Johnson took it for granted that the kind of poetry which flourished in his own time, and which he had himself written with some success, was the best kind. The poets whose lives he wrote include two of a high order, Milton and Gray but it is precisely these two whom he shows himself least able to appreciate. It is for Dryden and Pope that he reserves his highest praise. Common sense is the standard of judgment which he adopts; and the appeal to common sense was characteristic of his age. It was also an age of philosophic activity, of speculation on social and moral topics as they presented themselves to the man of ordinary common sense. The solutions, therefore, which the wits of the age produced for these problems, were not profound. It was sufficient that they should be brilliant or paradoxical. Johnson, as is well known, cared for no society or mode of life, except that of London; of country life and nature he knew nothing, taking it for granted, as Macaulay says, "that every body who lived in the country was either stupid or miserable." The descriptions of nature in his favourite poets are purely literary; and epigrammatic reflections on life, expressed in the heroic couplet as refined and polished by Pope, were to him the best type of poetry.

Yet we need not on that account hastily censure Johnson and his age for their views on the subject. The function of the 18th century was, as we have said, to create an English prose style, and into that service poetry also was pressed. "Such is the common course and law of progress, one thing is done at a time, and other things are sacrificed to it. Let us always bear in mind therefore that the century so well represented by Dryden, Addison, Pope, and Swift, is a century of prose. Johnson was himself a labourer in this great and needful work, and was ruled by its influences. His blame of genuine poets like Milton and Gray, his over-praise of artificial poets like Pope, are to be taken as the utterances of a man who worked for an age of prose. Of poetry he speaks as a man whose sense for that with which he is dealing is in some degree imperfect. Yet even on poetry Johnson's utterances are valuable, because they

are the utterances of a great and original man" (Matthew Arnold). He was in fact saved by his originality and his common sense from servile and pedantic submission to the rules of correct writing, laid down by the French and other critics; but when sympathy and imagination are required, he fails. How serious a deficiency this must necessarily imply in a critic of poetry, will be evident to any one who reflects that the world of imagination is precisely that in which the true poet moves

III

Johnson, then, in his criticisms of poetry, employs the standards of an essentially prosaic age. Is his own prose style also representative of his age? Remembering the ridicule that has been aimed at "Johnsonese," we might say that it was not; but this would scarcely be correct. His *words* indeed are often long and pompous, but the *structure* of his sentences belongs essentially to that modern style, which we have already said was the creation of the century following the Restoration. If only he had written as he talked, his books would not have been consigned to that upper shelf on which most of them now repose. "It is clear," says Macaulay, "that Johnson himself did not think in the dialect in which he wrote. The expressions which came first to his tongue were simple, energetic, and picturesque. When he wrote for publication, he did his sentences out of English into Johnsonese." Sometimes we can see this process of translation actually taking place, as when he remarked, "the *Rehearsal* has not wit enough to keep it sweet," adding after a pause, "it has not vitality enough to preserve it from putrefaction." In much the same way he wrote of Milton that "his element is the great," adding immediately, "his natural port is gigantic loftiness."

Macaulay continues, "it is well known that he made less use than any other eminent writer of those strong plain

words, Anglo-Saxon or Norman-French, of which the roots lie in the inmost depths of our language, and that he felt a vicious partiality for terms which, long after our own speech had been fixed, were borrowed from the Greek and Latin." Such, no doubt, is the impression which some of Johnson's writings leave, but Macaulay's remarks are not altogether borne out by an actual analysis (quoted by Mr Ryland), which gives 30 per cent of words of classical origin in 200 lines of the *Rambler*, and 28 per cent in the *Lives of the Poets*, as against 28 per cent in Macaulay's own essays. The fact is that Johnson is at his worst in his earlier compositions. For several years before producing the *Lives* he wrote scarcely anything, and when he took up the pen again a good deal of his mannerism had evaporated, with the result that the style of the *Lives* is a nearer approach to that of his conversation than to that of the *Rambler* and *Rasselas*.

Of the other defects of his style, the most prominent are his practice of "padding out" a sentence with unnecessary epithets, his harsh inversions, his careless use of the third personal pronouns, in such a way as to render his meaning wholly ambiguous, his love of abstract turns of expression instead of concrete, and his constant employment of antithetical clauses, even where there is no real opposition in the ideas. Many of these epigrammatical antitheses are very striking, but their frequency tends to destroy their effect upon the reader.

IV

The *Lives of the Poets* had their origin in the rivalry of the English and Scotch booksellers. One of the latter had published at Edinburgh an edition of the British poets from Chaucer (died 1400) to Churchill (died 1764) whereupon the London booksellers, jealous of their prerogatives, combined to produce a rival edition. To add to its attractions, Dr Johnson was invited to prefix to each poet's works a short

account of his life This was in 1777 when Johnson told Boswell that he had undertaken to write "little Lives and little Prefaces to a little edition of the English Poets" He did not choose the poets himself, though he added Blackmore and three others to the list supplied by the booksellers and a large number of quite insignificant writers are included. Boswell, in fact, enquired of him if he would furnish a Preface and Life to "any dunce's works," if the booksellers asked him. "Yes, Sir," was Johnson's reply, "and say he was a dunce." However, the series includes six writers of prime importance, namely, Milton, Dryden, Swift, Addison, Pope and Gray.

Though the original intention had been to begin with Chaucer, the booksellers finally fixed upon Cowley as their starting point, and therefore Johnson was not required to treat of Chaucer, Spenser, or Shakespeare. This was no great loss, however, for the biographies of the older writers would have been necessarily scanty, and Johnson's criticism of them would have been inadequate, and by no means appreciative. As Southey said, the poets before the Restoration were to Johnson what the world before the Flood was to historians There is, however, one regrettable omission, Goldsmith, about whom Johnson could have said much of interest; but a bookseller who possessed the copyright of some of his poems would not allow them to be included.

In an Advertisement prefixed to the original work Johnson says.—"The Booksellers having determined to publish a body of English Poetry, I was persuaded to promise them a Preface to the Works of each Author, an undertaking, as it was then presented to my mind, not very extensive or difficult. My purpose was only to have allotted to every Poet an Advertisement, like those which we find in the French Miscellanies, containing a few dates and a general character; but I have been led beyond my intention, I hope by the honest desire of giving useful pleasure As this undertaking was occasional and unforeseen, I must be supposed to have engaged in it with less provision of materials than might have been accumulated by longer

premeditation " Johnson, however, had been a man of letters and a critic for many years, and "the task," as Macaulay remarks, "was one for which he was pre-eminently qualified His knowledge of the literary history of England since the Restoration was unrivalled. That knowledge he had derived partly from books, and partly from sources which had long been closed, from old Grub Street traditions, from the talk of forgotten poetasters, and pamphleteers who had long been lying in parish vaults, from the recollections of such men as Cibber, who had mutilated the plays of two generations of dramatists, Orrery, who had been admitted to the society of Swift, and Savage, who had rendered services of no very honourable kind to Pope The biographer, therefore, sat down to his task with a mind full of matter " Moreover, at first, at any rate, he entered with considerable vigour into the task of ascertaining and verifying details Here many of his friends assisted him, and he mentions as worthy of special acknowledgment the loan (by the Duke of Newcastle) of the manuscript of Spence's *Anecdotes*

The progress of the work can be traced in Johnson's letters, and in Boswell The first Life written was that of Cowley, completed in December, 1777 Three more were completed before Easter, 1778, when he says, "I have written a little of the Lives of the Poets, I think with all my usual vigour " Dryden was finished in August, 1778, Milton about February, 1779 Sixteen more short Lives completed the first part, which was published together with the poems in March, 1779, and also separately in four small volumes "Last week," he says, "I published the Lives of the Poets, written, I hope, in such a manner as may tend to the promotion of piety "

On April 6, 1780, he wrote to Mrs Thrale that Addison and Prior were finished, by May 9th five or six more had been added But on August 21st he informed Boswell that he had sat at home all the summer, "thinking to write the Lives, and a great part of the time only thinking " This indolence caused him to be pressed for time, and he willingly adopted a Life of Young by Croft, and tried, though

unsuccessfully, to get some other assistance of the same kind. However, in March, 1781, he finished the work, of which he says frankly that he wrote it in his "usual way—dilatorily and hastily, unwilling to work and working with vigour and haste." The second part, when published separately, filled six small volumes. In this manner the intended short prefaces or advertisements expanded into Johnson's last and greatest work, and in consequence the booksellers gave him four hundred guineas instead of the two hundred originally agreed on. "The fact is," said Johnson, "not that they have paid me too little, but that I have written too much." On the other hand, Malone remarks that Johnson's moderation in demanding so small a sum was extraordinary, as the booksellers would doubtless have readily given him a thousand, or even fifteen hundred, guineas.

Boswell complains that Johnson was not attentive to minute accuracy, and even neglected to correct mistakes pointed out to him in the first edition. "He knew his strength," says Cunningham, "and that the value of his work would not depend on the minute succession of facts, but on the characters, drawn as they would be from books and men, and marked with a happiness of illustration almost peculiar to himself." That some of his characters would be attacked was fully expected by the author, who remarked to Boswell that he would rather be attacked than unnoticed. Three Lives in particular caused an outcry, those of Milton, Gray, and Lord Lyttelton; but when Boswell referred to the matter, Johnson only replied, "Sir, I considered myself as entrusted with a certain portion of truth. I have given my opinion sincerely. Let them show where they think me wrong." The worst, undoubtedly, is the Life of Gray. The best, probably, are those of Dryden, Pope, and Cowley. The last named gave Johnson most trouble, and was in his opinion the best of all.

V

Of all the poets with whom Johnson dealt, we should now select Milton for a position far above the rest. Some of the causes which prevented Johnson and his age from doing full justice to Milton's genius have already been indicated. In addition there were others peculiar to Johnson himself. First of these came his prejudice against Milton's political opinions: he was not likely to have much sympathy with the "surly and acrimonious republican" who defended the execution of his King. Then there were Milton's ecclesiastical opinions to be reckoned with, his hostility to the English Church and to Episcopacy. These were redeemed to some extent by the poet's profoundly religious nature, and the character of his greatest works. Fortunately, also, Johnson believed him to have been untainted by heresy for if he had known what we now know of Milton's views (thanks to the discovery in the present century of the *Treatise on Christian Doctrine*), there would probably have been even more reason for complaining of the portrait he had drawn. On the whole, we cannot feel surprise at Johnson's expressing at the outset a reluctance to deal with the details of Milton's life, his treatment of which is summed up in a stanza of Byron (*Don Juan*, iii 91) —

"Milton's the prince of poets—so we say,
 A little heavy, but no less divine
 An independent being in his day—
 Learn'd, pious, temperate in love and wine
 But his life falling into Johnson's way,
 We're told this great high priest of all the Nine
 Was whipt at college—a harsh sire—odd spouse,
 For the first Mrs Milton left his house"

We seem to see Johnson struggling all through to keep down the prejudices of which he was not unaware, and Mark Pattison appears to pass too harsh a judgment, when he accuses him of "employing all his vigorous powers and consummate skill to write down Milton. He undoubtedly dealt a heavy blow at the poet's reputation, and succeeded in damaging it for at least two generations of readers. He did for Milton what Aristophanes did for Socrates, effaced the real man and replaced him by a distorted and degrading

caricature." Yet Johnson expresses sincere admiration for *Paradise Lost*, and considering how much he detested the opinions of its author, his criticisms of it shew singularly little prejudice. On the other hand, Milton's higher flights of imagination, his splendid diction, his music and rhythm, meet with quite inadequate appreciation from Johnson; but this, as has already been pointed out, was the failing of his age in general, and we could not expect more from one who had no ear for melody, and who honestly believed that there was an original "savageness" about English poetry from which it had been rescued by Dryden and his successors.

Such standards of criticism might be applied to the narrative and didactic portions of an epic (with the religious doctrines of which the critic was in sympathy), without any very disastrous results; but unfortunately they had also to be applied to Milton's minor poems, and here Johnson is at his weakest. His treatment of Milton's lyrics (with the exception of *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*), and above all his abuse of *Lycidas*, are probably the portions of the *Lives* which have excited most derision. Yet even here Johnson had often got hold of excellent principles; it is his application of them to Milton that seems to us now so wrong-headed. For instance, the pastoral form and the multiplication of classical allusions undoubtedly lend an air of unreality to a poem; but in the case of *Lycidas* this artificiality is redeemed by so much that is beautiful as well as earnest, that we are amazed at a criticism which no one would quarrel with, if it had been directed against some of the purely artificial writers of the 17th and 18th centuries. But even when Johnson's criticisms are grossly unjust, Macaulay bids us study them well. "For, however erroneous they may be, they are never silly. They are the judgments of a mind trammelled by prejudice and deficient in sensibility, but vigorous and acute. They, therefore, generally contain a portion of valuable truth which deserves to be separated from the alloy."

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF MILTON'S LIFE AND WRITINGS.

- 1608. Birth of Milton (December 9).
- 1615. Birth of Christopher Milton
- 1618 [Birth of Abraham Cowley]
- 1621 [Birth of Andrew Marvell]
- 1624 *Paraphrase of Psalms CXIV, CXXXVI*
- 1625 Milton admitted at Christ's College, Cambridge
- [Accession of Charles I]
- 1628 Milton takes his B A degree
- 1631 *Sonnet II*
- [Birth of John Dryden]
- 1632 Milton takes his M A degree, and goes to live at Horton
- (Probably) *L'Allegro, Il Penseroso*
- [Christina, Queen of Sweden]
- 1633 *Arcades* (probably)
- 1634 *Comus* performed at Ludlow
- 1637 Death of Milton's mother (April 3)
- Edward King drowned (August 10)
- 1638. *Lycidas* published
- Milton leaves England (April) for Paris, Florence, Rome, Naples
- Death of Charles Diodati (August)
- 1639 [Conflict between Charles I and the Scotch]
- Milton in Rome, Florence, Venice, Geneva He reaches England again (August)
- Epitaphium Damonis*
- Milton lodges in St Bride's Churchyard.
- [Birth of Thomas Ellwood, the Quaker]

1640. Milton moves to Aldersgate-street, and takes pupils
[Meeting of the Long Parliament (November). Hall's
Humble Remonstrance]
1641. [*Smectymnuus* published]
Of Reformation in England (May)
Of Prelatical Episcopacy (June)
*Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence against
Smectymnuus* (July).
- 1642 *The Reason of Church Government* (February)
Apology for Smectymnuus (March)
[Beginning of the Civil War (August).]
Sonnet VIII
1643. Milton marries Mary Powell (June), who soon leaves him
Fall of Reading: his father takes refuge with him
[Assembly of Divines at Westminster (July).]
Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce (August).
1644. *Of Education, to Master Harlib* (June).
Judgment of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce (July).
Areopagitica (November).
Sonnets IX, X.
1645. [New modelling of the Parliamentary Army.]
Tetrachordon, and Colasterion (March).
Milton reconciled to his wife (August). They move to
Barbican
Sonnets XI, XII.
- 1646 *Sonnets XIII, XIV.; On the New Forcers of Conscience.*
First edition of the *Minor Poems*.
Fall of Oxford (June) The Powells take refuge with Milton
Birth of Anne Milton (July)
1647. Death of Mr. Powell, Milton's father-in-law (January).
Death of Milton's father (March)
Milton moves to High Holborn (September).
1648. *Sonnet XV.*
Birth of Mary Milton (October).
- 1649 [Execution of Charles I, January 30.]
[*Eikon Basilike* published (February)
Tenure of Kings and Magistrates (February).
Milton appointed Latin Secretary (March). He moves to
Charing Cross then to Scotland Yard, Whitehall.
Observations on Ormond's Articles of Peace (May).
Eikonoklastes (October).
[*Defensio Regia*, by Salmasius.]

1651. Rowland's *Apologia pro Rege* answered by John Philips, with Milton's help
Defensio pro Populo Anglicano (April).
1652. Milton moves to Petty France, Westminster. He becomes totally blind
Sonnets XVI, XVII
 Birth of Deborah Milton (May)
 [*Regi Sanguinis Clamor* published]
- 1653 [Cromwell expels the Long Parliament (April), and is made Protector (December).]
 [Death of Salmasius (September)]
 Death of Milton's first wife
- 1654 *Defensio Secunda* (May)
 [Abdication of Christina, Queen of Sweden]
- 1655 *Sonnets XVIII—XXII*
Pro se Defensio contra Alexandrum Morum (August).
- 1656 [Death of Bishop Hall Birth of Jacob Tonson.]
 Milton marries Catherine Woodcock (November)
- 1658 Death of Milton's second wife
Sonnet XXIII Edition of Raleigh's Cabinet Council
 [Death of Oliver Cromwell, September 3 His son, Richard, succeeds as Protector]
- 1659 *Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes.*
 [Richard Cromwell retires, in May Quarrels of the Army and the Rump]
The Likeliest Means to remove Troubings out of the Church (August)
 [Dryden's first important poem, the *Heroic Stanzas on the Death of Cromwell*]
1660. [General Monk marches on London]
The Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth (March)
Brief Notes on a late Sermon (April)
 [Restoration of Charles II (May)]
 Milton in hiding in Bartholomew-Close, until the passing of the Act of Indemnity (August 29) in custody of the Serjeant-at-arms (December)
 [Dryden's *Astræa Redux*]
1661. Milton moves to Jewin-street
- 1663 He marries Elizabeth Minshull (February).
 [Dryden's first Play, the *Wild Gallant*]
1664. Milton moves to Artillery-walk, Bunhill-fields.

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- 1665 The Great Plague of London, during which Milton moves to Chalfont Ellwood is shown the MS. of *Paradise Lost*
- 1666 [The Great Fire of London.]
Milton returns to London.
- 1667 *Paradise Lost* published
[Death of Cowley. Birth of Swift Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis*.]
- 1668 [Death of Sir William Davenant, Poet-laureate]
1669. *Accidence commenced Grammar*
- 1670 *History of Britain*
[Dryden made Poet-laureate]
- 1671 *Paradise Regained Samson Agonistes*
- 1672 *Artis Logicae Plenior Institutio*
1673. *Of True Religion, Heresy, etc.*
Second edition of the *Minor Poems*
- 1674 Second edition of *Paradise Lost*
Epistolæ Familiæres and *Prolusiones Oratoriæ*
Death of Milton (November 8)
- 1678 Third edition of *Paradise Lost*
- 1686 Christopher Milton made a Judge (retires in 1688).
1693. Death of Sir C Milton
1727. Death of Milton's widow, and of Deborah Milton
- 1825 Publication of Milton's *De Doctrina Christiana*, discovered two years before

JOHNSON'S LIFE OF MILTON

THE Life of Milton has been already written in so many forms, and with such minute enquiry, that I might perhaps more properly have contented myself with the addition for a few notes to Mr Fenton's elegant Abridgement, but that a new narrative was thought necessary to the uniformity of this edition

John Milton was by birth a gentleman, descended from the proprietors of Milton near Thame in Oxfordshire, one of whom forfeited his estate in the times of York and Lancaster Which side he took I know not, his descendant inherited no veneration for the White Rose

10

His grandfather, John, was keeper of the forest of Shotover, a zealous papist, who disinherited his son, because he had forsaken the religion of his ancestors

His father, John, who was the son disinherited, had recourse for his support to the profession of a scrivener. He was a man eminent for his skill in musick, many of his compositions being still to be found; and his reputation in his profession was such that he grew rich, and retired to an estate. He had probably more than common literature, as his son addresses him in one of his most elaborate Latin poems. He married a gentlewoman of the name of Caston, a 20 Welsh family, by whom he had two sons, John the poet, and Christopher who studied the law, and adhered, as the law taught him, to the King's party, for which he was a while persecuted, but having, by his brother's interest, obtained permission to live in quiet, he supported himself so honourably by chamber-practice, that soon after the accession of King James he was knighted, and made a Judge, but, his constitution being too weak for business, he retired before any disreputable compliances became necessary.

He had likewise a daughter, Anne, whom he married with a considerable fortune to Edward Philips, who came from Shrewsbury, and rose in the Crown-office to be secondary by him she had two sons, John and Edward, who were educated by the poet, and from whom is derived the only authentick account of his domestick manners

John, the poet, was born in his father's house, at the "Spread-Eagle" in Bread-street, Dec 9, 1608, between six and seven in the morning His father appears to have been very solicitous about his education, for he was instructed at first by private tuition under the care of Thomas Young, who was afterwards chaplain to the English merchants at Hamburgh, and of whom we have reason to think well, since his scholar considered him as worthy of an epistolary Elegy

He was then sent to St Paul's school, under the care of Mr. Gill, and removed in the beginning of his sixteenth year to Christ's College in Cambridge, where he entered a sizar, February 12, 1624

He was at this time eminently skilled in the Latin tongue, and he himself, by annexing the dates to his first compositions, a boast of which the learned Politian had given him an example, seems to commend the earliness of his own proficiency to the notice of posterity But the products of his vernal fertility have been surpassed by many, and particularly by his contemporary, Cowley Of the powers of the mind it is difficult to form an estimate. many have excelled Milton in their first essays, who never rose to works like "Paradise Lost"

At fifteen, a date which he uses till he is sixteen, he translated or versified two Psalms, 114 and 136, which he thought worthy of the publick eye, but they raise no great expectations, they would in any numerous school have obtained praise, but not excited wonder.

Many of his elegies appear to have been written in his eighteenth year, by which it appears that he had then read the Roman authors with very nice discernment I once heard Mr Hampton, the translator of Polybius, remark what I think is true, that Milton was the first Englishman who, after the revivall of letters, wrote Latin verses with classick elegance If any exceptions can be made, they are very few Haddon and Ascham, the pride of Elizabeth's reign, however they may have succeeded in prose, no sooner attempt verses than they provoke derision If we produced anything worthy of notice before the elegies of Milton, it was perhaps Alabaster's "Roxana"

Of these exercises which the rules of the University required, some were published by him in his maturer years. They had been undoubtedly applauded, for they were such as few can perform; yet there is reason to suspect that he was regarded in his college with no great fondness. That he obtained no fellowship is certain; but the unkindness with which he was treated was not merely negative. I am ashamed to relate what I fear is true, that Milton was one of the last students in either university that suffered the public indignity of corporal correction.

It was, in the violence of controversial hostility, objected to him, ¹⁰ that he was expelled: this he steadily denies, and it was apparently not true, but it seems plain from his own verses to Diodati, that he had incurred Rustication—a temporary dismissal into the country, with perhaps the loss of a term.

"Me tenet urbs reflua quam Thamesis alluit unda,
 Meque nec invitum patria dulcis habet
 Jam nec arundiferum mihi cura revisere Camum
 Nec dudum *veliti* me *latis* angit amor —
 Nec duri libet usque minas perferre magistri,
 Cæteraque ingemo non subeunda meo
 Si sit hoc *exilium* patrias aditus penatos,
 Et vacuum curis olia grata sequi,
 Non ego vel *profugi* nomen sortemve recuso,
 Lætus et *exili* conditione fruor"

20

I cannot find any meaning but this, which even kindness and reverence can give to the term *veliti latis*, "a habitation from which he is excluded," or how *exile* can be otherwise interpreted. He declares yet more, that he is weary of enduring *the threats of a rigorous master, and something else, which a temper like his cannot undergo*. What was more than threat was probably punishment. ³⁰ This poem, which mentions his *exile*, proves likewise that it was not perpetual; for it concludes with a resolution of returning some time to Cambridge. And it may be conjectured from the willingness with which he has perpetuated the memory of his exile, that its cause was such as gave him no shame.

He took both the usual degrees—that of Bachelor in 1628, and that of Master in 1632, but he left the University with no kindness for its institution, alienated either by the injudicious severity of his governors, or his own capacious perverseness. The cause cannot now be known, but the effect appears in his writings. His ⁴⁰ scheme of education, inscribed to Hartlib, supersedes all academical instruction, being intended to comprise the whole time which men usually spend in literature, from their entrance upon grammar,

till they proceed, as it is called, masters of arts And in his Discourse "On the likeliest Way to Remove Hirelings out of the Church," he ingeniously proposes, that *the profits of the lands forfeited by the act for superstitious uses, should be applied to such academies all over the land, where languages and arts may be taught together, so that youth may be at once brought up to a competency of learning and an honest trade, by which means such of them as had the gift, being enabled to support themselves (without tithes) by the latter, may, by the help of the former become worthy preachers*

10 One of his objections to academical education, as it was then conducted, is, that men designed for orders in the Church were permitted to act plays, *writhing and unboning their clergy limbs to all the antic and dishonest gestures of Trinculos, buffoons and bawds, prostituting the shame of that ministry which they had, or were near having, to the eyes of courtiers and court-ladies, their grooms and mademoiselles*

This is sufficiently peevish in a man, who, when he mentions his exile from the college, relates, with great luxuriance, the compensation which the pleasures of the theatre afford him Plays were
20 therefore only criminal when they were acted by academicks

He went to the University with a design of entering into the Church, but in time altered his mind, for he declared that whoever became a clergyman must "subscribe slave, and take an oath withal, which, unless he took with a conscience that could retch, he must straight perjure himself He thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before the office of speaking, bought and begun with servitude and forswearing "

These expressions are, I find, applied to the subscription of the Articles, but it seems more probable that they relate to canonical
30 obedience I know not any of the Articles which seem to thwart his opinions but the thoughts of obedience, whether canonical or civil, raised his indignation

His unwillingness to engage in the ministry, perhaps not yet advanced to a settled resolution of declining it, appears in a letter to one of his friends, who had reproved his suspended and dilatory life, which he seems to have imputed to an insatiable curiosity and fantastick luxury of various knowledge To this he writes a cool and plausible answer, in which he endeavours to persuade him that the delay proceeds not from the delights of desultory study, but
40 from the desire of obtaining more fitness for his task, and that he goes on, *not taking thought of being late, so it give advantage to be more fit.*

When he left the University, he returned to his father, then residing at Horton in Buckinghamshire, with whom he lived five years, in which time he is said to have read all the Greek and Latin writers. With what limitations this universality is to be understood, who shall inform us?

It might be supposed that he who read so much should have done nothing else, but Milton found time to write the Masque of "Comus," which was presented at Ludlow, then the residence of the Lord President of Wales, in 1634; and had the honour of being acted by the Earl of Bridgewater's sons and daughter. The fiction is derived from Homer's Circe, but we never can refuse to any modern the liberty of borrowing from Homer.

"—a quo ceu fonte perenni
Vatum Pieris ora rigantur aquis "

His next production was "Lycidas," an elegy, written in 1637, on the death of Mr King, the son of Sir John King, Secretary for Ireland in the time of Elizabeth, James, and Charles. King was much a favourite at Cambridge, and many of the wits joined to do honour to his memory. Milton's acquaintance with the Italian writers may be discovered by a mixture of longer and shorter verses, according to the rules of Tuscan poetry, and his malignity to the Church by some lines which are interpreted as threatening its extermination.

He is supposed about this time to have written his "Arcades," for while he lived at Horton he used sometimes to steal from his studies a few days, which he spent at Harefield, the house of the Countess Dowager of Derby, where the "Arcades" made part of a dramattick entertainment.

He began now to grow weary of the country, and had some purpose of taking chambers in the Inns of Court, when the death of his mother set him at liberty to travel, for which he obtained his father's consent, and Sir Henry Wotton's directions, with the celebrated precept of prudence, *i pensieri stretti, ed il viso sciolto*—"thoughts close, and looks loose"

In 1638 he left England, and went first to Paris, where, by the favour of Lord Scudamore, he had the opportunity of visiting Grotius, then residing at the French court as ambassador from Christina of Sweden. From Paris he hasted into Italy, of which he had with particular diligence studied the language and literature and, though he seems to have intended a very quick perambulation

of the country, staid two months at Florence, where he found his way into the academies, and produced his compositions with such applause as appears to have exalted him in his own opinion, and confirmed him in the hope that, "by labour and intense study, which," says he, "I take to be my portion in this life, joined with a strong propensity of nature," he might "leave something so written to after-times, as they should not willingly let it die "

It appears, in all his writings, that he had the usual concomitant of great abilities, a lofty and steady confidence in himself, perhaps 10 not without some contempt of others, for scarcely any man ever wrote so much, and praised so few. Of his praise he was very frugal, as he set its value high, and considered his mention of a name as a security against the waste of time, and a certain preservative from oblivion.

At Florence he could not indeed complain that his merit wanted distinction. Carlo Dati presented him with an encomiastick inscription, in the tumid lapidary style, and Francini wrote him an ode, of which the first stanza is only empty noise, the rest are perhaps too diffuse on common topics, but the last is natural 20 and beautiful.

From Florence he went to Sienna, and from Sienna to Rome, where he was again received with kindness by the learned and the great Holstenius, the keeper of the Vatican Library, who had resided three years at Oxford, introduced him to Cardinal Barberini; and he, at a musical entertainment, waited for him at the door, and led him by the hand into the assembly. Here Selvaggi praised him in a distich, and Salsilli in a tetrastick, neither of them of much value. The Italians were gainers by this literary commerce, for the encomiums with which Milton repaid Salsilli, 30 though not secure against a stern grammarian, turn the balance indisputably in Milton's favour.

Of these Italian testimonies, poor as they are, he was proud enough to publish them before his poems, though he says, he cannot be suspected but to have known that they were said *non tam de se, quam supra se*.

At Rome, as at Florence, he staid only two months, a time indeed sufficient, if he desired only to ramble with an explainer of its antiquities, or to view palaces and count pictures, but certainly too short for the contemplation of learning, policy, or 40 manners.

From Rome he passed on to Naples, in company of a hermit; a companion from whom little could be expected, yet to him Milton owed his introduction to Manso, Marquis of Villa, who had been before the patron of Tasso. Manso was enough delighted with his accomplishments to honour him with a sorry distich, in which he commends him for every thing but his religion, and Milton, in return, addressed him in a Latin poem, which must have raised an high opinion of English elegance and literature.

His purpose was now to have visited Sicily and Greece, but hearing of the differences between the king and parliament, he 10 thought it proper to hasten home, rather than pass his life in foreign amusements while his countrymen were contending for their rights. He therefore came back to Rome, though the merchants informed him of plots laid against him by the Jesuits, for the liberty of his conversations on religion. He had sense enough to judge that there was no danger, and therefore kept on his way, and acted as before, neither obtruding nor shunning controversy. He had perhaps given some offence by visiting Galileo, then a prisoner in the Inquisition for philosophical heresy, and at Naples he was told by Manso that, by his declarations on religious 20 questions, he had excluded himself from some distinctions which he should otherwise have paid him. But such conduct, though it did not please, was yet sufficiently safe, and Milton staid two months more at Rome, and went on to Florence without molestation.

From Florence he visited Lucca. He afterwards went to Venice; and having sent away a collection of musick and other books, travelled to Geneva, which he probably considered as the metropolis of orthodoxy. Here he reposed, as in a congenial element, and became acquainted with John Diodati and Frederick Spanheim, two learned 30 professors of Divinity. From Geneva he passed through France, and came home, after an absence of a year and three months.

At his return he heard of the death of his friend Charles Diodati; a man whom it is reasonable to suppose of great merit, since he was thought by Milton worthy of a poem, intituled "Epitaphium Damonis," written with the common but childish imitation of pastoral life.

He now hired a lodging at the house of one Russel, a taylor in St Bride's churchyard, and undertook the education of John and Edward Philips, his sister's sons. Finding his rooms too little, he 40 took a house and garden in Aldersgate-street, which was not then

so much out of the world as it is now, and chose his dwelling at the upper end of a passage, that he might avoid the noise of the street Here he received more boys, to be boarded and instructed

Let not our veneration for Milton forbid us to look with some degree of merriment on great promises and small performance, on the man who hastens home, because his countrymen are contending for their liberty, and, when he reaches the scene of action, vapours away his patriotism in a private boarding-school This is the period of his life from which all his biographers seem inclined to
 10 shrink They are unwilling that Milton should be degraded to a school-master, but, since it cannot be denied that he taught boys, one finds out that he taught for nothing, and another that his motive was only zeal for the propagation of learning and virtue, and all tell what they do not know to be true, only to excuse an act which no wise man will consider as in itself disgraceful His father was alive, his allowance was not ample, and he supplied its deficiencies by an honest and useful employment

It is told that in the art of education he performed wonders and a formidable list is given of the authors, Greek and Latin, that
 20 were read in Aldersgate-street, by youth between ten and fifteen or sixteen years of age Those who tell or receive these stories should consider that nobody can be taught faster than he can learn The speed of the horseman must be limited by the power of his horse Every man that has ever undertaken to instruct others, can tell what slow advances he has been able to make, and how much patience it requires to recall vagrant inattention, to stimulate sluggish indifference, and to rectify absurd misapprehension

The purpose of Milton, as it seems, was to teach something more solid than the common literature of schools, by reading those
 30 authors that treat of physical subjects, such as the Georgick, and astronomical treatises of the ancients This was a scheme of improvement which seems to have busied many literary projectors of that age Cowley, who had more means than Milton of knowing what was wanting to the embellishments of life, formed the same plan of education in his imaginary College

But the truth is, that the knowledge of external nature, and the sciences which that knowledge requires or includes, are not the great or the frequent business of the human mind Whether we provide for action or conversation, whether we wish to be useful or
 40 pleasing, the first requisite is the religious and moral knowledge of right and wrong, the next is an acquaintance with the history of

mankind, and with those examples which may be said to embody truth, and prove by events the reasonableness of opinions Prudence and justice are virtues and excellences of all times and of all places, we are perpetually moralists, but we are geometricians only by chance Our intercourse with intellectual nature is necessary, our speculations upon matter are voluntary, and at leisure Physiological learning is of such rare emergence, that one man may know another half his life without being able to estimate his skill in hydrostaticks or astronomy; but his moral and prudential character immediately appears

10

Those authors, therefore, are to be read at schools that supply most axioms of prudence, most principles of moral truth, and most materials for conversation, and these purposes are best served by poets, orators, and historians

Let me not be censured for this digression as pedantick or paradoxical, for if I have Milton against me, I have Socrates on my side It was his labour to turn philosophy from the study of nature to speculations upon life, but the innovators whom I oppose are turning off attention from life to nature They seem to think that we are placed here to watch the growth of plants, or the motions of the stars Socrates was rather of opinion that what we had to learn was, how to do good and avoid evil

Of institutions we may judge by their effects From this wonder-working academy I do not know that there ever proceeded any man very eminent for knowledge its only genuine product, I believe, is a small History of Poetry, written in Latin by his nephew Philips, of which perhaps none of my readers has ever heard

That in his school, as in every thing else which he undertook, he laboured with great diligence, there is no reason for doubting. One part of his method deserves general imitation He was careful to instruct his scholars in religion Every Sunday was spent upon theology, of which he dictated a short system, gathered from the writers that were then fashionable in the Dutch universities

He set his pupils an example of hard study and spare diet; only now and then he allowed himself to pass a day of festivity and indulgence with some gay gentlemen of Gray's Inn

He now began to engage in the controversies of the times, and lent his breath to blow the flames of contention In 1641 he published a treatise of "Reformation," in two books, against the established Church, being willing to help the Puritans, who were, he says, *inferior to the Prelates in learning*

40

Hall, bishop of Norwich, had published an "Humble Remonstrance," in defence of Episcopacy, to which, in 1641, six ministers, of whose names the first letters made the celebrated word *Smectymnius*, gave their Answer. Of this answer a Confutation was attempted by the learned Usher, and to the Confutation Milton published a Reply, intituled "Of Prelatical Episcopacy, and whether it may be deduced from the Apostolical Times, by virtue of those testimonies which are alleged to that purpose in some late treatises, one whereof goes under the name of James, Lord Bishop of Armagh."

- 10 I have transcribed this title, to shew, by his contemptuous mention of Usher, that he had now adopted the puritanical savageness of manners. His next work was "The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelacy, by Mr John Milton," 1642. In this book he discovers, not with ostentatious exultation, but with calm confidence, his high opinion of his own powers, and promises to undertake something, he yet knows not what, that may be of use and honour to his country. "This," says he, "is not to be obtained but by devout prayer to that Eternal Spirit that can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his Seraphim
20 with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases. To this must be added industrious and select reading, steady observation, and insight into all seemly and generous arts and affairs, till which in some measure be compast, I refuse not to sustain this expectation." From a promise like this, at once fervid, pious, and rational, might be expected the "Paradise Lost."

- He published the same year two more pamphlets upon the same question. To one of his antagonists, who affirms that he was *vomited out of the university*, he answers, in general terms, "The
30 Fellows of the College wherein I spent some years, at my parting, after I had taken two degrees, as the manner is, signified many times how much better it would content them that I should stay.—As for the common approbation or dislike of that place, as now it is, that I should esteem or disesteem myself the more for that, too simple is the answerer, if he think to obtain with me. Of small practice were the physician who could not judge, by what she and her sister have of long time vomited, that the worser stuff she strongly keeps in her stomach, but the better she is ever kecking at, and is queasy. she vomits now out of sickness, but before it be
40 well with her, she must vomit by strong physick.—The university, in the time of her better health, and my younger judgment, I never greatly admired, but now much less."

This is surely the language of a man who thinks that he has been injured. He proceeds to describe the course of his conduct, and the train of his thoughts, and, because he has been suspected of incontinence, gives an account of his own purity. "That if I be justly charged," says he, "with this crime, it may come upon me with tenfold shame."

The style of his piece is rough, and such perhaps was that of his antagonist. This roughness he justifies, by great examples, in a long digression. Sometimes he tries to be humorous. "Lest I should take him for some chaplain in hand, some squire of the body 10 to his prelate, one who serves not at the altar only but at the court-cupboard, he will bestow on us a pretty model of himself, and sets me out half a dozen ptisical mottos, wherever he had them, hopping short in the measure of convulsion fits, in which labour the agony of his wit having scaped narrowly, instead of well-sized periods, he greets us with a quantity of thumbing posies.—And thus ends this section, or rather dissection of himself." Such is the controversial merriment of Milton, his gloomy seriousness is yet more offensive. Such is his malignity, *that hell grows darker at his frown*.

His father, after Reading was taken by Essex, came to reside in 20 his house, and his school increased. At Whitsuntide, in his thirty-fifth year, he married Mary, the daughter of Mr. Powel, a Justice of the Peace in Oxfordshire. He brought her to town with him, and expected all the advantages of a conjugal life. The lady, however, seems not much to have delighted in the pleasures of spare diet and hard study, for, as Philips relates, "having for a month led a philosophical life, after having been used at home to a great house, and much company and jovialty, her friends, possibly by her own desire, made earnest suit to have her company the remaining part of the summer; which was granted, upon a promise of her return 30 at Michaelmas."

Milton was too busy to much miss his wife. He pursued his studies, and now and then visited the Lady Margaret Leigh, whom he has mentioned in one of his sonnets. At last Michaelmas arrived, but the lady had no inclination to return to the sullen gloom of her husband's habitation, and therefore very willingly forgot her promise. He sent her a letter, but had no answer, he sent more with the same success. It could be alleged that letters miscarry; he therefore despatched a messenger, being by this time too angry to go himself. His messenger was sent back with some 40 contempt. The family of the lady were Cavaliers.

In a man whose opinion of his own merit was like Milton's, less provocation than this might have raised violent resentment Milton soon determined to repudiate her for disobedience, and, being one of those who could easily find arguments to justify inclination, published (in 1644) "The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce," which was followed by "The Judgment of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce," and the next year his "Tetrachordon, Expositions upon the four chief Places of Scripture which treat of Marriage"

This innovation was opposed, as might be expected, by the
10 clergy, who, then holding their famous assembly at Westminster, procured that the author should be called before the Lords, "but that House," says Wood, "whether approving the doctrine, or not favouring his accusers, did soon dismiss him"

There seems not to have been much written against him nor any thing by any writer of eminence The antagonist that appeared is styled by him *a serving man turned solicitor* Howel in his letters mentions the new doctrine with contempt, and it was, I suppose, thought more worthy of derision than of confutation He complains of this neglect in two sonnets, of which the first is contemptible,
20 and the second not excellent

From this time it is observed that he became an enemy to the Presbyterians, whom he had favoured before He that changes his party by his humour, is not more virtuous than he that changes it by his interest, he loves himself rather than truth

His wife and her relations now found that Milton was not an unresisting sufferer of injuries, and perceiving that he had begun to put his doctrine in practice, by courting a young woman of great accomplishments, the daughter of one Doctor Davis, who was however not ready to comply, they resolved to endeavour a
30 re-union He went sometimes to the house of one Blackborough, his relation, in the lane of St Martin's-le-Grand, and at one of his usual visits was surprised to see his wife come from another room, and implore forgiveness on her knees He resisted her entreaties for a while, "but partly," says Philips, "his own generous nature, more inclinable to reconciliation than to perseverance in anger or revenge, and partly the strong intercession of friends on both sides, soon brought him to an act of oblivion and a firm league of peace" It were injurious to omit, that Milton afterwards received her father and her brothers in his own house, when they were distressed, with
40 other Royalists

He published about the same time his "Areopagitica, a Speech of Mr. John Milton for the liberty of unlicensed Printing" The

danger of such unbounded liberty, and the danger of bounding it have produced a problem in the science of government, which human understanding seems hitherto unable to solve. If nothing may be published but what civil authority shall have previously approved, power must always be the standard of truth, if every dreamer of innovations may propagate his projects, there can be no settlement; if every murmurer at government may diffuse discontent, there can be no peace; and if every sceptick in theology may teach his follies, there can be no religion. The remedy against these evils is to punish the authors; for it is yet allowed that every society may punish, though not prevent, the publication of opinions which that society shall think pernicious, but this punishment, though it may crush the author, promotes the book, and it seems not more reasonable to leave the right of printing unrestrained, because writers may be afterwards censured, than it would be to sleep with doors unbolted, because by our laws we can hang a thief.

But whatever were his engagements, civil or domestick, poetry was never long out of his thoughts. About this time (1645) a collection of his Latin and English poems appeared, in which the "Allegro" and "Penseroso," with some others, were first published.

He had taken a larger house in Barbican for the reception of scholars; but the numerous relations of his wife, to whom he generously granted refuge for a while, occupied his rooms. In time, however, they went away, "and the house again," says Philips, "now looked like a house of the Muses only, though the accession of scholars was not great. Possibly his having proceeded so far in the education of youth may have been the occasion of his adversaries calling him pedagogue and school-master, whereas it is well known he never set up for a publick school, to teach all the young fry of a parish, but only was willing to impart his learning and knowledge to relations, and the sons of gentlemen who were his intimate friends; and that neither his writings nor his way of teaching ever savoured in the least of pedantry."

Thus laboriously does his nephew extenuate what cannot be denied, and what might be confessed without disgrace. Milton was not a man who could become mean by a mean employment. This, however, his warmest friends seem not to have found, they therefore shift and palliate. He did not sell literature to all comers at an open shop; he was a chamber-milliner, and measured his commodities only to his friends.

Philips, evidently impatient of viewing him in this state of degradation, tells us that it was not long continued, and, to raise his

character again, has a mind to invest him with military splendour "He is much mistaken," he says, "if there was not about this time a design of making him an adjutant-general in Sir William Waller's army But the new-modelling of the army proved an obstruction to the design " An event cannot be set at a much greater distance than having been only *designed, about some time*, if a man be not much *mistaken* Milton shall be a pedagogue no longer, for, if Philips be not much mistaken, somebody at some time designed him for a soldier

- 10 About the time that the army was new-modelled (1645) he removed to a smaller house in Holbourn, which opened backward into Lincoln's-Inn-Fields He is not known to have published any thing afterwards till the King's death, when, finding his murderers condemned by the Presbyterians, he wrote a treatise to justify it, and *to compose the minds of the people* ✓

- He made some "Remarks on the Articles of Peace between Ormond and the Irish Rebels " While he contented himself to write, he perhaps did only what his conscience dictated, and if he did not very vigilantly watch the influence of his own passions, and the
20 gradual prevalence of opinions, first willingly admitted and then habitually indulged, if objections, by being overlooked, were forgotten, and desire superinduced conviction, he yet shared only the common weakness of mankind, and might be no less sincere than his opponents But as faction seldom leaves a man honest, however it might find him, Milton is suspected of having interpolated the book called "Icon Basilike," which the Council of State, to whom he was now made Latin secretary, employed him to censure, by inserting a prayer taken from Sidney's "Arcadia," and imputing it to the King, whom he charges, in his "Iconoclastes," with the use
30 of this prayer as with a heavy crime, in the indecent language with which prosperity had emboldened the advocates for rebellion to insult all that is venerable or great "Who would have imagined so little fear in him of the true all-seeing Deity—as, immediately before his death, to pop into the hands of the grave bishop that attended him, as a special relique of his saintly exercises, a prayer stolen word for word from the mouth of a heathen woman praying to a heathen god ? "

- The papers which the King gave to Dr Juxon on the scaffold the regicides took away, so that they were at least the publishers of
40 this prayer, and Dr Birch, who had examined the question with great care, was inclined to think them the forgers The use of it by adaptation was innocent, and they who could so noisily

censure it, with a little extension of their malice could contrive what they wanted to accuse.

King Charles the Second, being now sheltered in Holland, employed Salmasius, professor of Polite Learning at Leyden, to write a defence of his father and of monarchy, and, to excite his industry, gave him, as was reported, a hundred Jacobuses Salmasius was a man of skill in languages, knowledge of antiquity, and sagacity of emendatory criticism, almost exceeding all hope of human attainment, and having, by excessive praises, been confirmed in great confidence of himself, though he probably had not much 10 considered the principles of society or the rights of government, undertook the employment without distrust of his own qualifications; and, as his expedition in writing was wonderful, in 1649 published "*Defensio Regis* "

To this Milton was required to write a sufficient answer; which he performed (1651) in such a manner, that Hobbes declared himself unable to decide whose language was best, or whose arguments were worst In my opinion, Milton's periods are smoother, neater, and more pointed, but he delights himself with teizing his adversary as much as with confuting him He makes a 20 foolish allusion of Salmasius, whose doctrine he considers as servile and unmanly, to the stream of Salmacis, which whoever entered left half his virility behind him Salmasius was a Frenchman, and was unhappily married to a scold *Tu es Gallus*, says Milton, *et, ut aunt, minimum gallinaceus* But his supreme pleasure is to tax his adversary, so renowned for criticism, with vitious Latin. He opens his book with telling that he has used *Persona*, which, according to Milton, signifies only a *Mask*, in a sense not known to the Romans, by applying it as we apply *Person* But as Nemesis is always on the watch, it is memorable that he has enforced the 30 charge of a solecism by an expression in itself grossly solecistical, when, for one of those supposed blunders, he says, as Ker, and I think some one before him, has remarked, *propino te grammaticistis tuis vapulandum* From *vapulo*, which has a passive sense, *vapulandus* can never be derived. No man forgets his original trade the rights of nations, and of kings, sink into questions of grammar if grammarians discuss them

Milton when he undertook this answer was weak of body, and dim of sight; but his will was forward, and what was wanting of *derelict* health was supplied by zeal He was rewarded with a thousand 40 pounds, and his book was much read, for paradox, recommended

by spirit and elegance, easily gains attention, and he who told every man that he was equal to his King, could hardly want an audience

That the performance of Salmasius was not dispersed with equal rapidity, or read with equal eagerness, is very credible. He taught only the stale doctrine of authority and the unpleasing duty of submission, and he had been so long not only the monarch but the tyrant of literature, that almost all mankind were delighted to find him defied and insulted by a new name, not yet considered as any one's rival. If Christina, as is said, commended the "Defence
10 of the People," her purpose must be to torment Salmasius, who was then at her Court, for neither her civil station nor her natural character could dispose her to favour the doctrine, who was by birth a queen, and by temper despotick

That Salmasius was, from the appearance of Milton's book, treated with neglect, there is not much proof, but to a man so long accustomed to admiration, a little praise of his antagonist would be sufficiently offensive, and might incline him to leave Sweden, from which, however, he was dismissed, not with any marks of contempt, but with a train of attendance scarce less than regal

20 He prepared a reply, which, left as it was imperfect, was published by his son in the year of the Restauration. In the beginning, being probably most in pain for his Latinity, he endeavours to defend his use of the word *persona*, but, if I remember right, he misses a better authority than any that he has found, that of Juvenal in his fourth satire *a person being vice or folly*

"—Quid agis cum dira et fœdior omni
Crimine *persona* est?"

As Salmasius reproached Milton with losing his eyes in the quarrel, Milton delighted himself with the belief that he had
30 shortened Salmasius's life, and both perhaps with more malignity than reason. Salmasius died at the Spa, Sept 3, 1653, and as controversists are commonly said to be killed by their last dispute, Milton was flattered with the credit of destroying him

Cromwell had now dismissed the parliament by the authority of which he had destroyed monarchy, and commenced monarch himself, under the title of protector, but with kingly and more than kingly power. That his authority was lawful, never was pretended; he himself founded his right only in necessity, but Milton, having now tasted the honey of publick employment, would not return to
40 hunger and philosophy, but, continuing to exercise his office under a manifest usurpation, betrayed to his power that liberty which he

had defended. Nothing can be more just than that rebellion should end in slavery; that he, who had justified the murder of his king, for some acts which to him seemed unlawful, should now sell his services, and his flatteries, to a tyrant, of whom it was evident that he could do nothing lawful

He had now been blind for some years, but his vigour of intellect was such, that he was not disabled to discharge his office of Latin secretary, or continue his controversies. His mind was too eager to be diverted, and too strong to be subdued

About this time his first wife died in childbed, having left him 10 three daughters. As he probably did not much love her, he did not long continue the appearance of lamenting her; but after a short time married Catherine, the daughter of one Captain Woodcock of Hackney, a woman doubtless educated in opinions like his own. She died within a year, of childbirth, or some distemper that followed it, and her husband has honoured her memory with a poor sonnet

The first Reply to Milton's "Defensio Populi" was published in 1651, called "Apologia pro Rege & Populo Anglicano, contra Johannis Polypragmatici (alias Miltoni) Defensionem destructivam 20 Regis & Populi." Of this the author was not known, but Milton and his nephew Philips, under whose name he published an answer so much corrected by him that it might be called his own, imputed it to Bramhal; and, knowing him no friend to regicides, thought themselves at liberty to treat him as if they had known what they only suspected.

Next year appeared "Regni Sanguinis Clamor ad Coelum." Of this the author was Peter du Moulin, who was afterwards prebendary of Canterbury, but Morus or More, a French minister, having the care of its publication, was treated as the writer by Milton in his "Defensio Secunda," and overwhelmed by such violence of invective, that he began to shrink under the tempest, and gave his persecutors the means of knowing the true author. Du Moulin was now in great danger, but Milton's pride operated against his malignity, and both he and his friends were more willing that Du Moulin should escape than that he should be convicted of mistake

In this second Defence he shews that his eloquence is not merely satirical, the rudeness of his invective is equalled by the grossness of his flattery. "Deserimur, Cromuelle, tu solus superes, ad te summa nostrarum rerum redit, in te solo consistit, insuperabili 40 tue virtuti cedimus cuncti, nemine vel obloquente, nisi qui æquales

inæqualis ipse honores sibi quærit, aut digniori concessos invidet, aut non intelligit nihil esse in societate hominum magis vel Deo gratum, vel rationi consentaneum, esse in civitate nihil æquius, nihil utilius, quam potiri rerum dignissimum Eum te agnoscunt omnes, Cromuelle, ea tu civis maximus et gloriosissimus,* dux publici consilii, exercituum fortissimorum imperator, pater patriæ gessisti. Sic tu spontanea bonorum omnium et animitus missa voce salutaris ”

Cæsar, when he assumed the perpetual dictatorship, had not
 10 more servile or more elegant flattery A translation may shew its servility, but its elegance is less attainable Having exposed the unskilfulness or selfishness of the former government, “We were left,” says Milton, “to ourselves the whole national interest fell into your hands, and subsists only in your abilities To your virtue, overpowering and resistless, every man gives way, except some who, without equal qualifications, aspire to equal honours, who envy the distinctions of merit greater than their own, or who have yet to learn that in the coalition of human society nothing is more pleasing to God, or more agreeable to reason, than that the
 20 highest mind should have the sovereign power Such, Sir, are you by general confession, such are the things achieved by you, the greatest and most glorious of our countrymen, the director of our publick councils, the leader of unconquered armies, the father of your country, for by that title does every good man hail you, with sincere and voluntary praise ”

Nyear, having defended all that wanted defence, he found leisure to defend himself He undertook his own vindication against More, whom he declares in his title to be justly called the author of the “Regu Sanguinis Clamor ” In this there is no want of
 30 vehemence nor eloquence, nor does he forget his wonted wit “Morus es? an Momus? an uterque idem est?” He then remembers that *Morus* is Latin for a Mulberry-tree, and hints at the known transformation

“—Poma alba ferebat
 Quæ post nigra tulit Morus ”

With this piece ended his controversies, and he from this time gave himself up to his private studies and his civil employment

* It may be doubted whether *gloriosissimus* be here used with Milton's boasted purity *Res gloriosa* is an *illustrious thing* but *vir gloriosus* is commonly a *braggart*, as in *miles gloriosus*

As secretary to the Protector he is supposed to have written the Declaration of the reasons for a war with Spain. His agency was considered as of great importance, for when a treaty with Sweden was artfully suspended, the delay was publicly imputed to Mr Milton's indisposition; and the Swedish agent was provoked to express his wonder, that only one man in England could write Latin, and that man blind

Being now forty-seven years old, and seeing himself dismembered from external interruptions, he seems to have recollected his former purposes, and to have resumed three great works 10 which he had planned for his future employment, an epick poem, the history of his country, and a dictionary of the Latin tongue.

To collect a dictionary, seems a work of all others least practicable in a state of blindness, because it depends upon perpetual and minute inspection and collation. Nor would Milton probably have begun it, after he had lost his eyes, but, having had it always before him, he continued it, says Philips, *almost to his dying-day; but the papers were so discomposed and deficient, that they could not be fitted for the press*. The compilers of the Latin dictionary, printed at Cambridge, had the use of those collections in three folios, but what 20 was their fate afterwards is not known

To compile a history from various authors, when they can only be consulted by other eyes, is not easy, nor possible, but with more skilful and attentive help than can be commonly obtained, and it was probably the difficulty of consulting and comparing that stopped Milton's narrative at the Conquest, a period at which affairs were not yet very intricate, nor authors very numerous.

For the subject of his epick poem, after much deliberation, *long chusing, and beginning late*, he fixed upon "Paradise Lost;" a design so comprehensive, that it could be justified only by success. He 30 had once designed to celebrate King Arthur, as he hints in his verses to Mansus; but *Arthur was reserved*, says Fenton, *to another destiny*

It appears, by some sketches of poetical projects left in manuscript, and to be seen in a library at Cambridge, that he had digested his thoughts on this subject into one of those wild dramas which were anciently called Mysteries; and Philips had seen what he terms part of a tragedy, beginning with the first ten lines of Satan's address to the Sun. These Mysteries consist of allegorical persons, such as *Justice, Mercy, Faith*. Of the tragedy 40 or mystery of "Paradise Lost" there are two plans.

The Persons

Michael.
 Chorus of Angels
 Heavenly Love.
 Lucifer.
 Adam, } with the Serpent
 Eve, }
 Conscience
 Death
 Labour,
 10 Sickness, }
 Discontent, } Mutes
 Ignorance, }
 with others, }
 Faith
 Hope.
 Charity

The Persons

Moses
 Divine Justice, Wisdom, Heavenly
 Love
 The Evening Star, Hesperus
 Chorus of Angels
Lucifer.
 Adam
 Eve
 Conscience
 Labour,
 Sickness, }
 Discontent, } Mutes
 Ignorance, }
 Fear,
 Death,
 Faith
 Hope
 Charity

PARADISE LOST

The Persons

20 Moses, *prologiser*, recounting how he assumed his true body,
 that it corrupts not, because it is with God in the mount, declares
 the like of Enoch and Eljah, besides the purity of the place, that
 certain pure winds, dews, and clouds, preserve it from corruption,
 whence exhorts to the sight of God, tells, they cannot see Adam in
 the state of innocence, by reason of their sin

Justice, }
 Mercy, } debating what should become of man, if he fall
 Wisdom, }

Chorus of Angels singing a hymn of the Creation

ACT II

Heavenly Love
 30 Evening Star
 Chorus sing the marriage-song and describe Paradise

ACT III

Lucifer, contriving Adam's ruin
 Chorus fears for Adam, and relates Lucifer's rebellion and fall

ACT IV

Adam, }
Eve, } fallen.

Conscience cites them to God's examination *see Milton*
Chorus bewails, and tells the good Adam has lost.

ACT V.

Adam and Eve driven out of Paradise

„ „ presented by an angel with
Labour, Grief, Hatred, Envy, War, Famine, Pestilence, } Mutes.
Sickness, Discontent, Ignorance, Fear, Death, }
To whom he gives their names. Likewise Winter, Heat, Tempest, &
Faith, }
Hope, } comfort and instruct him
Charity, } 10
Chorus briefly concludes

Such was his first design, which could have produced only an allegory, or mystery. The following sketch seems to have attained more maturity *see Milton*

“ADAM UNPARADISED. *driven out of P.*”

The angel Gabriel, either descending or entering, shewing, since this globe was created, his frequency as much on earth as in heaven, describes Paradise. Next, the Chorus, shewing the reason of his coming to keep his watch in Paradise, after Lucifer's rebellion, 20 by command from God, and withal expressing his desire to see and know more concerning this excellent new creature, man. The angel Gabriel, as by his name signifying a prince of power, tracing Paradise with a more free office, passes by the station of the Chorus, and, desired by them, relates what he knew of man, as the creation of Eve, with their love and marriage. After this, Lucifer appears, after his overthrow bemoans himself, seeks revenge on man. The Chorus prepare resistance at his first approach. At last, after discourse of enmity on either side, he departs whereat the Chorus sings of the battle and victory in heaven, against him and his 30 accomplices as before, after the first act, was sung a hymn of the creation. Here again may appear Lucifer, relating and insulting *see Milton*

in what he had done to the destruction of man. Man next, and Eve having by this time been seduced by the Serpent, appears confusedly covered with leaves. Conscience, in a shape, accuses him, Justice cites him to the place whither Jehovah called for him. In the mean while, the Chorus entertains the stage, and is informed by some angel the manner of the Fall. Here the Chorus bewails Adam's fall, Adam then and Eve return, accuse one another, but especially Adam lays the blame to his wife, is stubborn in his offence. Justice appears, reasons with him, convinces him. The
 10 Chorus admonisheth Adam, and bids him beware Lucifer's example of impenitence. The angel is sent to banish them out of Paradise, but before causes to pass before his eyes, in shapes, a mask of all the evils of this life and world. He is humbled, relents, despairs, at last appears Mercy, comforts him, promises the Messiah, then calls in Faith, Hope, and Charity, instructs him, he repents, gives God the glory, submits to his penalty. The Chorus briefly concludes. Compare this with the former draught."

These are very imperfect rudiments of "Paradise Lost," but it is pleasant to see great works in their seminal state, pregnant
 20 with latent possibilities of excellence, nor could there be any more delightful entertainment than to trace their gradual growth and expansion, and to observe how they are sometimes suddenly advanced by accidental hints, and sometimes slowly improved by steady meditation.

Invention is almost the only literary labour, which blindness cannot obstruct, and therefore he naturally solaced his solitude by the indulgence of his fancy, and the melody of his numbers. He had done what he knew to be necessarily previous to poetical excellence, he had made himself acquainted with seemly arts and
 30 affairs, his comprehension was extended by various knowledge, and his memory stored with intellectual treasures. He was skilful in many languages, and had by reading and composition attained the full mastery of his own. He would have wanted little help from books, had he retained the power of perusing them.

But while his greater designs were advancing, having now, like many other authors, caught the love of publication, he amused himself, as he could, with little productions. He sent to the press (1658) a manuscript of Raleigh, called the "Cabinet Council," and next year gratified his malevolence to the clergy, by a "Treatise of
 40 Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Cases," and "The Means of removing Hirelings out of the Church."

Oliver was now dead, Richard was constrained to resign the system of ^{of the great King} extemporary government, which had been held together only by force, naturally fell into fragments when that force was taken away, and Milton saw himself and his cause in equal danger. But he had still hope of doing something. He wrote letters, which Toland has published, to such men as he thought friends to the new commonwealth, and even in the year of the Restoration he bated no jot of heart or hope, but was fantastical enough to think that the nation, agitated as it was, might be settled by a pamphlet, called "A Ready and Easy Way to establish a Free 10 Commonwealth," which was, however, enough considered to be both seriously and ludicrously answered.

The obstinate enthusiasm of the commonwealth-men was very remarkable. When the King was apparently returning, Harrington, with a few associates as fanatical as himself, used to meet, with all the gravity of political importance, to settle an equal government by rotation, and Milton, kicking when he could strike no longer, was foolish enough to publish, a few weeks before the Restoration, *Notes* upon a sermon preached by one Griffiths, intituled, "The Fear of God and the King." To these notes an 20 answer was written by L'Estrange, in a pamphlet petulantly called "No Blind Guides."

But whatever Milton could write, or men of greater activity could do, the King was now about to be restored with the irresistible approbation of the people. He was therefore no longer secretary, and was consequently obliged to quit the house which he held by his office, and proportioning his sense of danger to his opinion of the importance of his writings, thought it convenient to seek some shelter, and hid himself for a time in Bartholomew-Close by West Smithfield.

30

I cannot but remark a kind of respect, perhaps unconsciously, paid to this great man by his biographers: every house in which he resided is historically mentioned, as if it were an injury to neglect naming any place that he honoured by his presence.

The King, with lenity of which the world has had perhaps no other example, declined to be the judge or avenger of his own or his father's wrongs; and promised to admit into the Act of Oblivion all, except those whom the parliament should except; and the parliament doomed none to capital punishment but the wretches who had immediately co-operated in the murder of the King. Milton 40

was certainly not one of them, he had only justified what they had done

This justification was indeed sufficiently offensive, and (June 16) an order was issued to seize Milton's "Defence," and Goodwin's "Obstructors of Justice," another book of the same tendency, and burn them by the common hangman. The attorney-general was ordered to prosecute the authors, but Milton was not seized, nor perhaps very diligently pursued

Not long after (August 19) the flutter of innumerable bosoms was stilled by an act, which the King, that his mercy might want no recommendation of elegance, rather called an *act of oblivion* than of grace. Goodwin was named, with nineteen more, as incapacitated for any publick trust, but of Milton there was no exception

Of this tenderness shewn to Milton, the curiosity of mankind has not forborne to enquire the reason. Burnet thinks he was forgotten, but this is another instance which may confirm Dalrymple's observation, who says, "that whenever Burnet's narrations are examined, he appears to be mistaken"

20 Forgotten he was not, for his prosecution was ordered, it must be therefore by design that he was included in the general oblivion. He is said to have had friends in the House, such as Marvel, Morrice, and Sir Thomas Clarges, and undoubtedly a man like him must have had influence. A very particular story of his escape is told by Richardson in his Memoirs, which he received from Pope, as delivered by Betterton, who might have heard it from Davenant. In the war between the King and Parliament, Davenant was made prisoner, and condemned to die, but was spared at the request of Milton. When the turn of success brought Milton into the like
30 danger, Davenant repaid the benefit by appearing in his favour. Here is a reciprocation of generosity and gratitude so pleasing, that the tale makes its own way to credit. But if help were wanted, I know not where to find it. The danger of Davenant is certain from his own relation, but of his escape there is no account. Betterton's narration can be traced no higher, it is not known that he had it from Davenant. We are told that the benefit exchanged was life for life, but it seems not certain that Milton's life ever was in danger. Goodwin, who had committed the same kind of crime, escaped with incapacitation, and as exclusion from publick trust is
40 a punishment which the power of government can commonly inflict without the help of a particular law, it required no great interest

to exempt Milton from a censure little more than verbal Something may be reasonably ascribed to veneration of his abilities, and compassion for his distresses, which made it fit to forgive his malice for his learning. He was now poor and blind, and who would pursue with violence an illustrious enemy, depressed by fortune, and disarmed by nature?

The publication of the act of oblivion put him in the same condition with his fellow-subjects. He was, however, upon some pretence not now known, in the custody of the serjeant in December, X and, when he was released, upon his refusal of the fees demanded, 10 he and the serjeant were called before the House. He was now safe within the shade of oblivion, and knew himself to be as much out of the power of a gripping officer as any other man. How the question was determined is not known. Milton would hardly have contended, but that he knew himself to have right on his side.

He then removed to Jewin-street, near Aldersgate-street, and being blind, and by no means wealthy, wanted a domestick companion and attendant; and therefore, by the recommendation of Dr Paget, married Elizabeth Minshul, of a gentleman's family in Cheshire, probably without a fortune. All his wives were virgins, 20 for he has declared that he thought it gross and indelicate to be a second husband upon what other principles his choice was made, cannot now be known, but marriage afforded not much of his happiness. The first wife left him in disgust, and was brought back only by terror, the second, indeed, seems to have been more a favourite, but her life was short. The third, as Philips relates, oppressed his children in his life-time, and cheated them at his death.

Soon after his marriage, according to an obscure story, he was offered the continuance of his employment, and, being pressed by his wife to accept it, answered, "You, like other women, want to 30 ride in your coach, my wish is to live and die an honest man." If he considered the Latin secretary as exercising any of the powers of government, he that had shared authority either with the parliament or Cromwell, might have forborne to talk very loudly of his honesty, and if he thought the office purely ministerial, he certainly might have honestly retained it under the King. But this tale has too little evidence to deserve a disquisition, large offers and sturdy rejections are among the most common topicks of falsehood.

He had so much either of prudence or gratitude, that he forbore to disturb the new settlement with any of his political or ecclesiasti- 40 cal opinions, and from this time devoted himself to poetry and

literature Of his zeal for learning, in all its parts, he gave a proof by publishing, the next year (1661), "Accidence commenced Grammar," a little book which has nothing remarkable, but that its author, who had been lately defending the supreme powers of his country, and was then writing "Paradise Lost," could descend from his elevation to rescue children from the perplexity of grammatical confusion, and the trouble of lessons unnecessarily repeated.

About this time Elwood the quaker, being recommended to him as one who would read Latin to him, for the advantage of his
 10 conversation, attended him every afternoon, except on Sundays Milton, who, in his letter to Hartlib, had declared that *to read Latin with an English mouth is as ill a hearing as Law French*, required that Elwood should learn and practise the Italian pronunciation, which, he said, was necessary, if he would talk with foreigners This seems to have been a task troublesome without use There is little reason for preferring the Italian pronunciation to our own, except that it is more general, and to teach it to an Englishman is only to make him a foreigner at home He who travels, if he speaks Latin, may so soon learn the sounds which every native
 20 gives it, that he need make no provision before his journey, and if strangers visit us, it is their business to practise such conformity to our modes as they expect from us in their own countries Elwood complied with the directions, and improved himself by his attendance, for he relates that Milton, having a curious ear, knew by his voice when he read what he did not understand, and would stop him, and open the most difficult passages

In a short time he took a house in the Artillery Walk, leading to Bunhill Fields, the mention of which concludes the register of Milton's removals and habitations He lived longer in this place
 30 than in any other

He was now busied by "Paradise Lost" Whence he drew the original design has been variously conjectured by men who cannot bear to think themselves ignorant of that which, at last, neither diligence nor sagacity can discover Some find the hint in an Italian tragedy Voltaire tells a wild and unauthorised story of a farce seen by Milton in Italy, which opened thus *Let the Rainbow be the Fiddlestick of the Fiddle of Heaven* It has been already shewn
 40 that the first conception was a tragedy or mystery, not of a narrative, but a dramattick work, which he is supposed to have begun to reduce to its present form about the time (1655) when he finished his dispute with the defenders of the King

He long before had promised to adorn his native country by some great performance, while he had yet perhaps no settled design, and was stimulated only by such expectations as naturally arose from the survey of his attainments, and the consciousness of his powers. What he should undertake, it was difficult to determine. He was *long chusing, and began late*.

While he was obliged to divide his time between his private studies and affairs of state, his poetical labour must have been often interrupted, and perhaps he did little more in that busy time than construct the narrative, adjust the episodes, proportion the parts, 10 accumulate images and sentiments, and treasure in his memory, or preserve in writing, such hints as books or meditation would supply. Nothing particular is known of his intellectual operations while he was a statesman; for, having every help and accommodation at hand, he had no need of uncommon expedients *deviser*.

Being driven from all publick stations, he is yet too great not to be traced by curiosity to his retirement, where he has been found by Mr Richardson, the fondest of his admirers, sitting *before his door in a grey coat of coarse cloth, in warm sultry weather, to enjoy the fresh air; and so, as well as in his own room, receiving the visits of* 20 *people of distinguished parts as well as quality*. His visitors of high quality must now be imagined to be few, but men of parts might reasonably court the conversation of a man so generally *not* illustrious, that foreigners are reported by Wood to have visited the house in Bread-street where he was born.

According to another account, he was seen in a small house, *neatly enough dressed in black cloaths, sitting in a room hung with rusty green; pale but not cadaverous, with chalkstones in his hands. He said that if it were not for the gout, his blindness would be tolerable.*

30

In the intervals of his pain, being made unable to use the common exercises, he used to swing in a chair, and sometimes played upon an organ.

He was now confessedly and visibly employed upon his poem, of which the progress might be noted by those with whom he was familiar, for he was obliged, when he had composed as many lines as his memory would conveniently retain, to employ some friend in writing them, having, at least for part of the time, no regular attendant. This gave opportunity to observations and reports.

Mr Philips observes that there was a very remarkable cir- 40 cumstance in the composure of "Paradise Lost," "which I have a

particular reason," says he, "to remember, for, whereas I had the perusal of it from the very beginning, for some years, as I went from time to time to visit him, in parcels of ten, twenty, or thirty verses at a time (which, being written by whatever hand came next, might possibly want correction as to the orthography and pointing), having, as the summer came on, not been shewed any for a considerable while, and desiring the reason thereof, was answered, that his vein never happily flowed but from the Autumnal Equinox to the Vernal, and that whatever he attempted at other times was
 10 never to his satisfaction, though he courted his fancy never so much, so that, in all the years he was about this poem, he may be said to have spent half his time therein "

Upon this relation Toland remarks, that in his opinion Philips has mistaken the time of the year, for Milton, in his Elegies, declares that with the advance of the spring he feels the increase of his poetical force, *redeunt in carmina vires* To this it is answered, that Philips could hardly mistake time so well marked, and it may be added, that Milton might find different times of the year favourable to different parts of life Mr Richardson conceives it im-
 20 possible that *such a work should be suspended for six months, or for one* It may go on faster or slower, but it must go on By what necessity it must continually go on, or why it might not be laid aside and resumed, it is not easy to discover

This dependance of the soul upon the seasons, those temporary and periodical ebbs and flows of intellect, may, I suppose, justly be derided as the fumes of vain imagination *Sapiens dominabitur astris* The author that thinks himself weather-bound will find, with a little help from hellebore, that he is only idle or exhausted But while this notion has possession of the head, it produces the inability
 30 which it supposes Our powers owe much of their energy to our hopes, *possunt quia posse videntur* When success seems attainable, diligence is enforced, but when it is admitted that the faculties are suppressed by a cross wind, or a cloudy sky, the day is given up without resistance, for who can contend with the course of Nature?

From such prepossessions Milton seems not to have been free There prevailed in his time an opinion that the world was in its decay, and that we have had the misfortune to be produced in the decrepitude of Nature It was suspected that the whole creation languished, that neither trees nor animals had the height or bulk of
 40 their predecessors, and that every thing was daily sinking by gradual diminution Milton appears to suspect that souls partake of the

general degeneracy, and is not without some fear that his book is to be written in an age too late for heroick poesy

Another opinion wanders about the world, and sometimes finds reception among wise men; an opinion that restrains the operations of the mind to particular regions, and supposes that a luckless mortal may be born in a degree of latitude too high or too low for wisdom or for wit. From this fancy, wild as it is, he had not wholly cleared his head, when he feared lest the *climate* of his country might be *too cold* for flights of imagination

Into a mind already occupied by such fancies, another not more 10 reasonable might easily find its way. He that could fear lest his genius had fallen upon too old a world, or too chill a climate, might consistently magnify to himself the influence of the seasons, and believe his faculties to be vigorous only half the year

His submission to the seasons was at least more reasonable than his dread of decaying Nature, or a frigid zone, for general causes must ^{wholly} operate uniformly in a general abatement of mental power; if less could be performed by the writer, less likewise would content the judges of his work. Among this lagging race of frosty grovellers he might still have risen into eminence by producing 20 something which *they should not willingly let die*. However inferior to the heroes who were born in better ages, he might still be great among his contemporaries, with the hope of growing every day greater in the dwindle of posterity. He might still be the giant of the pygmies, the one-eyed monarch of the blind

Of his artifices of study, or particular hours of composition, we have little account, and there was perhaps little to be told Richardson, who seems to have been very diligent in his enquiries, but discovers always a wish to find Milton discriminated from other men, relates that "he would sometimes lie awake whole nights, but 30 not a verse could he make, and on a sudden his poetical faculty would rush upon him with an impetus or aspiration, and his daughter was immediately called to secure what came. At other times he would dictate perhaps forty lines in a breath, and then reduce them to half the number "

These bursts of light, and involutions of darkness; these transient and involuntary excursions and retrocessions of invention, having some appearance of deviation from the common train of Nature, are eagerly caught by the lovers of a wonder. Yet something of this inequality happens to every man in every mode of exertion, 40 manual or mental. The mechanick cannot handle his hammer and

his file at all times with equal dexterity, there are hours, he knows not why, when *his hand is out*. By Mr Richardson's relation, casually conveyed, much regard cannot be claimed. That, in his intellectual hour, Milton called for his daughter *to secure what came*, may be questioned, for unluckily it happens to be known that his daughters were never taught to write, nor would he have been obliged, as is universally confessed, to have employed any casual visiter in disburthening his memory, if his daughter could have performed the office

- 10 The story of reducing his exuberance has been told of other authors, and, though doubtless true of every fertile and copious mind, seems to have been gratuitously transferred to Milton

What he has told us, and we cannot now know more, is that he composed much of his poem in the night and morning, I suppose before his mind was disturbed with common business, and that he poured out with great fluency his *unpremeditated verse*. Versification, free, like his, from the distresses of rhyme, must, by a work so long, be made prompt and habitual, and when his thoughts were once adjusted, words would come at his command

- 20 At what particular times of his life the parts of his work were written, cannot often be known. The beginning of the third book shews that he had lost his sight, and the Introduction to the seventh, that the return of the King had clouded him with discountenance, and that he was offended by the licentious festivity of the Restoration. There are no other internal notes of time. Milton, being now cleared from all effects of his disloyalty, had nothing required from him but the common duty of living in quiet, to be rewarded with the common right of protection but this, which, when he sculked from the approach of his King, was perhaps more
 30 than he hoped, seems not to have satisfied him, for no sooner is he safe, than he finds himself in danger, *fallen on evil days, and evil tongues, and with darkness and with danger compassed round*. This darkness, had his eyes been better employed, had undoubtedly deserved compassion, but to add the mention of danger was ungrateful and unjust. He was fallen indeed on *evil days*, the time was come in which regicides could no longer boast their wickedness. But of *evil tongues* for Milton to complain, required impudence at least equal to his other powers, Milton, whose warmest advocates must allow that he never spared any asperity of reproach or
 40 brutality of insolence

But the charge itself seems to be false, for it would be hard to recollect any reproach cast upon him, either serious or ludicrous, through the whole remaining part of his life. He pursued his studies, or his amusements, without persecution, molestation, or insult. Such is the reverence paid to great abilities, however misused, they who contemplated in Milton the scholar and the wit, were contented to forget the reviler of his King.

When the plague (1665) raged in London, Milton took refuge at Chalfont in Bucks; where Elwood, who had taken the house for him, first saw a complete copy of "Paradise Lost," and, having 10 perused it, said to him, "Thou hast said a great deal upon Paradise Lost, what hast thou to say upon Paradise Found?"

Next year, when the danger of infection had ceased, he returned to Bunhill-fields, and designed the publication of his poem. A license was necessary, and he could expect no great kindness from a chaplain of the Archbishop of Canterbury. He seems, however, to have been treated with hardness, for though objections were made to particular passages, and among them to the simple of the sun eclipsed, in the first book, yet the license was granted, and he sold his copy, April 27, 1667, to Samuel Simmons, for an immediate 20 payment, of five pounds, with a stipulation to receive five pounds more when thirteen hundred should be sold of the first edition, and again, five pounds after the sale of the same number of the second edition, and another five pounds after the same sale of the third. None of the three editions were to be extended beyond fifteen hundred copies. *1796*

The first edition was ten books, in a small quarto. The titles were varied from year to year, and an advertisement and the arguments of the books were omitted in some copies, and inserted in others.

The sale gave him in two years a right to his second payment, 30 for which the receipt was signed April 26, 1669. The second edition was not given till 1674, it was printed in small octavo, and the number of books was increased to twelve, by a division of the seventh and twelfth; and some other small improvements were made. The third edition was published in 1678, and the widow, to whom the copy was then to devolve, sold all her claims to Simmons for eight pounds, according to her receipt given December 21, 1680. Simmons had already agreed to transfer the whole right to Brabazon Aylmer for twenty-five pounds, and Aylmer sold to Jacob Tonson half, August 17, 1683, and half, March 24, 1690, at a price considerably 40 enlarged. In the history of "Paradise Lost," a deduc- *1796* tion thus minute will rather gratify than fatigue.

The slow sale and tardy reputation of this poem have been always mentioned as evidences of neglected merit, and of the uncertainty of literary fame, and enquiries have been made, and conjectures offered, about the causes of its long obscurity and late reception. But has the case been truly stated? Have not lamentation and wonder been lavished on an evil that was never felt?

That in the reigns of Charles and James the "Paradise Lost" received no publick acclamations, is readily confessed. Wit and literature were on the side of the Court and who that solicited—
 10 favour or fashion would venture to praise the defender of the regicides? All that he himself could think his due, from *evil tongues* in *evil days*, was that reverential silence which was generously preserved. But it cannot be inferred that his poem was not read, or not, however unwillingly, admired.

The sale, if it be considered, will justify the publick. Those who have no power to judge of past times but by their own, should always doubt their conclusions. The call for books was not in Milton's age what it is in the present. To read was not then a general amusement, neither traders, nor often gentlemen, thought
 20 themselves disgraced by ignorance. The women had not then aspired to literature, nor was every house supplied with a closet of knowledge. Those, indeed, who professed learning were not less learned than at any other time, but of that middle race of students who read for pleasure or accomplishment, and who buy the numerous products of modern typography, the number was then comparatively small. To prove the paucity of readers, it may be sufficient to remark that the nation had been satisfied from 1623 to 1664, that is, forty-one years, with only two editions of the works of Shakespeare, which probably did not together make one thousand copies.

30 The sale of thirteen hundred copies in two years, in opposition to so much recent enmity, and to a style of versification new to all and disgusting to many, was an uncommon example of the prevalence of genius. The demand did not immediately increase, for many more readers than were supplied at first the nation did not afford. Only three thousand were sold in eleven years, for it forced its way without assistance its admirers did not dare to publish their opinion, and the opportunities now given of attracting notice by advertisements were then very few, the means of proclaiming the publication of new books have been produced by
 40 that general literature which now pervades the nation through all its ranks

But the reputation and price of the copy still advanced, till the Revolution put an end to the secrecy of love, and "Paradise Lost" broke into open view with sufficient security of kind reception

Fancy can hardly forbear to conjecture with what temper Milton surveyed the silent progress of his work, and marked his reputation stealing its way in a kind of subterraneous current through fear and silence. I cannot but conceive him calm and confident, little disappointed, not at all dejected, relying on his own merit with steady consciousness, and waiting, without impatience, the vicissitudes of opinion, and the impartiality of a future generation 10

In the mean time he continued his studies, and supplied the want of sight by a very odd expedient, of which Philips gives the following account —

Mr. Philips tells us, "That though our author had daily about him one or other to read, some persons of man's estate, who of their own accord greedily caught at the opportunity of being his readers, that they might as well reap the benefit of what they read to him, as oblige him by the benefit of their reading, and others of younger years were sent by their parents to the same end yet excusing only the eldest daughter, by reason of her bodily infirmity, and difficult 20 utterance of speech (which, to say truth, I doubt was the principal cause of excusing her), the other two were condemned to the performance of reading and exactly pronouncing of all the languages of whatever book he should, at one time or other, think fit to peruse, viz., the Hebrew (and I think the Syriac), the Greek, the Latin, the Italian, Spanish, and French All which sorts of books to be confined to read, without understanding one word, must needs be a trial of patience almost beyond endurance. Yet it was endured by both for a long time, though the irksomeness of this employment could not be always concealed, but broke out more and more into 30 expressions of uneasiness; so that at length they were all, even the eldest also, sent out to learn some curious and ingenious sorts of manufacture, that are proper for women to learn, particularly embroideries in gold or silver "

In the scene of misery which this mode of intellectual labour sets before our eyes, it is hard to determine whether the daughters or the father are most to be lamented A language not understood can never be so read as to give pleasure, and very seldom so as to convey meaning If few men would have had resolution to write books with such embarrassments, few likewise would have wanted 40 ability to find some better expedient

next his father in the chancel of St .Giles at Cripplegate | His funeral was very splendidly and numerously attended

Upon his grave there is supposed to have been no memorial ; but in our time a monument has been erected in Westminster Abbey "*To the Author of Paradise Lost,*" by Mr Benson, who has in the inscription bestowed more words upon himself than upon Milton

When the inscription for the monument of Philips, in which he was said to be *soli Miltono secundus*, was exhibited to Dr Sprat, then Dean of Westminster, he refused to admit it, the name of Milton was, in his opinion, too detestable to be read on the wall of a building dedicated to devotion Atterbury, who succeeded him, being author of the inscription, permitted its reception. "And such has been the change of publick opinion," said Dr. Gregory, from whom I heard this account, "that I have seen erected in the church a statue of that man, whose name I once knew considered as a pollution of its walls"

Milton has the reputation of having been in his youth eminently beautiful, so as to have been called the Lady of his College His hair, which was of a light brown, parted at the foretop, and hung down upon his shoulders, according to the picture which he has given of Adam He was, however, not of the heroick stature, but rather below the middle size, according to Mr Richardson, who mentions him as having narrowly escaped from being *short and thick* He was vigorous and active, and delighted in the exercise of the sword, in which he is related to have been eminently skilful His weapon was, I believe, not the rapier, but the back-sword, of which he recommends the use in his book on Education

His eyes are said never to have been bright, but if he was a dexterous fencer, they must have been once quick

His domestick habits, so far as they are known, were those of a severe student He drank little strong drink of any kind, and fed without excess in quantity, and in his earlier years without delicacy of choice In his youth he studied late at night, but afterwards changed his hours, and rested in bed from nine to four in the summer, and five in winter. The course of his day was best known after he was blind. When he first rose, he heard a chapter in the Hebrew Bible, and then studied till twelve, then took some exercise for an hour, then dined; then played on the organ, and sung, or heard another sing, studied then to six; then

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entertained his visitors till eight ; then supped, and, after a pipe of tobacco and a glass of water, went to bed

So is his life described ; but this even tenour appears attainable only in Colleges. He that lives in the world will sometimes have the succession of his practice broken and confused. Visitors, of whom Milton is represented to have had great numbers, will come and stay unseasonably, business, of which every man has some, must be done when others will do it.

When he did not care to rise early, he had something read to him by his bedside, perhaps, at this time his daughters were employed. He composed much in the morning, and dictated in the day, sitting obliquely in an elbow-chair, with his leg thrown over the arm.

Fortune appears not to have had much of his care. In the civil wars he lent his personal estate to the parliament ; but when, after the contest was decided, he solicited repayment, he met not only with neglect, but *sharp rebuke* ; and, having tired both himself and his friends, was given up to poverty and hopeless indignation, till he shewed how able he was to do greater service. He was then made Latin Secretary, with two hundred pounds a year ; and had a thousand pounds for his "Defence of the People." His widow, who, after his death retired to Nantwich in Cheshire, and died about 1729, is said to have reported that he lost two thousand pounds by entrusting it to a scrivener, and that, in the general depredation upon the Church, he had grasped an estate of about sixty pounds a year belonging to Westminster Abbey, which, like other sharers of the plunder of rebellion, he was afterwards obliged to return. Two thousand pounds, which he had placed in the Excise-office, were also lost. There is yet no reason to believe that he was ever reduced to indigence. His wants, being few, were competently supplied. He sold his library before his death, and left his family fifteen hundred pounds, on which his widow laid hold, and only gave one hundred to each of his daughters.

His literature was unquestionably great. He read all the languages which are considered either as learned or polite, Hebrew, with its two dialects, Greek, Latin, Italian, French and Spanish. In Latin his skill was such as places him in the first rank of writers and critics, and he appears to have cultivated Italian with uncommon diligence. The books in which his daughter, who used to read to him, represented him as most delighting, after Homer, which he could almost repeat, were Ovid's "Metamorphoses" and

died of her first child. Mary died single Deborah married Abraham Clark, a weaver in Spitalfields, and lived seventy-six years, to August, 1727 This is the daughter of whom public mention has been made She could repeat the first lines of Homer, the "Metamorphoses," and some of Euripides, by having often read them Yet here incredulity is ready to make a stand Many repetitions are necessary to fix in the memory lines not understood, and why should Milton wish or want to hear them so often? These lines were at the beginning of the poems Of a book written in a language not understood, the beginning raises no more attention than the end; and as those that understand it know commonly' the beginning best, its rehearsal will seldom be necessary It is not likely that Milton required any passage to be so much repeated as that his daughter could learn it, nor likely that he desired the initial lines to be read at all, nor that the daughter, weary of the drudgery of pronouncing unideal sounds, would voluntarily commit them to memory

To this gentlewoman Addison made a present, and promised some establishment, but died soon after Queen Caroline sent her fifty guineas She had seven sons and three daughters; but none of them had any children, except her son Caleb and her daughter Elizabeth Caleb went to Fort St. George in the East Indies, and had two sons, of whom nothing is now known. Elizabeth married Thomas Foster, a weaver in Spitalfields, and had seven children, who all died. She kept a petty grocer's or chandler's shop, first at Holloway, and afterwards in Cock-lane, near Shoreditch Church She knew little of her grandfather, and that little was not good She told of his harshness to his daughters, and his refusal to have them taught to write; and, in opposition to other accounts, represented him as delicate, though temperate, in his diet.

In 1750, April 5, "Comus" was played for her benefit She had so little acquaintance with diversion or gaiety, that she did not know what was intended when a benefit was offered her The profits of the night were only one hundred and thirty pounds, though Dr. Newton brought a large contribution, and twenty pounds were given by Tonson, a man who is to be praised as often as he is named Of this sum one hundred pounds was placed in the stocks; after some debate between her and her husband in whose name it should be entered, and the rest augmented their little stock, with which they removed to Islington This was the greatest benefaction that "Paradise Lost" ever procured the author's descendants;

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and to this he who has now attempted to relate his Life had the honour of contributing a Prologue

In the examination of Milton's poetical works, I shall pay so much regard to time as to begin with his juvenile productions For his early pieces he seems to have had a degree of fondness not very laudable what he has once written he resolves to preserve, and gives to the publick an unfinished poem, which he broke off because he was *nothing satisfied with what he had done*, supposing his readers less nice than himself. These preludes to his future labours are in Italian, Latin, and English Of the Italian I cannot pretend to speak 10 as a critick; but I have heard them commended by a man well qualified to decide their merit The Latin pieces are *lusciously* 20 elegant, but the delight which they afford is rather by the exquisite imitation of the ancient writers, by the purity of the diction, and the harmony of the numbers, than by any power of invention, or vigour of sentiment They are not all of equal value, the elegies excel the odes, and some of the exercises on Gunpowder Treason might have been spared

The English poems, though they make no promises of "Paradise Lost," have this evidence of genius, that they have a *cast* original, 20 and *unborrowed* But their peculiarity is not excellence if they differ from verses of others, they differ for the worse, for they are too often distinguished by repulsive harshness, the combinations of words are new, but they are not pleasing; the rhymes and epithets seem to be laboriously sought, and violently applied.

That in the early parts of his life he wrote with much care appears from his manuscripts, happily preserved at Cambridge, in which many of his smaller works are found as they were first written, with the subsequent corrections Such *reliques* shew how 27 excellence is acquired, (what we hope ever to do with ease, we may 30 learn first to do with diligence.)

Those who admire the beauties of this great poet, sometimes force their own judgment into false approbation of his little pieces, and prevail upon themselves to think that admirable which is only singular All that short compositions can commonly attain is neatness and elegance Milton never learned the art of doing little things with grace; he overlooked the milder excellence of suavity and softness, he was a *Lion* that had no skill *in dandling the kid*.

One of the poems on which much praise has been bestowed is "Lycidas;" of which the diction is harsh, the rhymes uncertain, 40 and the numbers unpleasing What beauty there is, we must

gay assemblies, and nuptial festivities; but he mingles a mere spectator, as, when the learned comedies of Jonson or the wild dramas of Shakespeare, are exhibited, he attends the theatre

The *pensive* man never loses himself in crowds, but walks the cloister, or frequents the cathedral Milton probably had not yet forsaken the Church

Both his characters delight in musick, but he seems to think that chearful notes would have obtained from Pluto a compleat dismissal of Eurydice, of whom solemn sounds only procured a
10 conditional release

For the old age of Cheerfulness he makes no provision, but Melancholy he conducts with great dignity to the close of life His Cheerfulness is without levity, and his Pensiveness without asperity

Through these two poems the images are properly selected, and distinguished, but the colours of the diction seem not sufficiently discriminated I know not whether the characters are kept sufficiently apart No mirth can, indeed, be found in his melancholy, but I am afraid that I always meet some melancholy in his mirth They are two noble efforts of imagination

20 The greatest of his juvenile performances is the "Mask of Comus," in which may very plainly be discovered the dawn or twilight of "Paradise Lost" Milton appears to have formed very early that system of diction, and mode of verse, which his maturer judgment approved, and from which he never endeavoured nor desired to deviate

Nor does "Comus" afford only a specimen of his language; it exhibits likewise his power of description and his vigour of sentiment, employed in the praise and defence of virtue A work more truly poetical is rarely found; allusions, images, and descriptive
30 epithets, embellish almost every period with lavish decoration As a series of lines, therefore, it may be considered as worthy of all the admiration with which the votaries have received it

As a drama it is deficient The action is not probable A Masque in those parts where supernatural intervention is admitted, must indeed be given up to all the freaks of imagination, but, so far as the action is merely human, it ought to be reasonable, which can hardly be said of the conduct of the two brothers, who, when their sister sinks with fatigue in a pathless wilderness, wander both away together in search of berries too far to find their way back, and

and to this he who has now attempted to relate his Life had the honour of contributing a Prologue.

In the examination of Milton's poetical works, I shall pay so much regard to time as to begin with his juvenile productions. For his early pieces he seems to have had a degree of fondness not very laudable: what he has once written he resolves to preserve, and gives to the publick an unfinished poem, which he broke off because he was *nothing satisfied with what he had done*, supposing his readers less nice than himself. These preludes to his future labours are in Italian, Latin, and English. Of the Italian I cannot pretend to speak 10 as a critick; but I have heard them commended by a man well qualified to decide their merit. The Latin pieces are lusciously elegant; but the delight which they afford is rather by the exquisite imitation of the ancient writers, by the purity of the diction, and the harmony of the numbers, than by any power of invention, or vigour of sentiment. They are not all of equal value; the elegies excel the odes, and some of the exercises on Gunpowder Treason might have been spared.

The English poems, though they make no promises of "Paradise Lost," have this evidence of genius, that they have a cast original 20 and unborrowed. But their peculiarity is not excellence: if they differ from verses of others, they differ for the worse; for they are too often distinguished by repulsive harshness; the combinations of words are new, but they are not pleasing; the rhymes and epithets seem to be laboriously sought, and violently applied.

That in the early parts of his life he wrote with much care appears from his manuscripts, happily preserved at Cambridge, in which many of his smaller works are found as they were first written, with the subsequent corrections. Such reliques shew how excellence is acquired, what we hope ever to do with ease, we may 30 learn first to do with diligence.

Those who admire the beauties of this great poet, sometimes force their own judgment into false approbation of his little pieces, and prevail upon themselves to think that admirable which is only singular. All that short compositions can commonly attain is neatness and elegance. Milton never learned the art of doing little things with grace, he overlooked the milder excellence of suavity and softness, he was a Lion that had no skill in dandling the kid.

One of the poems on which much praise has been bestowed is "Lycidas;" of which the diction is harsh, the rhymes uncertain, 40 and the numbers unpleasant. What beauty there is, we must

gay assemblies, and nuptial festivities, but he mingles a mere spectator, as, when the learned comedies of Jonson or the wild dramas of Shakespeare, are exhibited, he attends the theatre

The *pensive* man never loses himself in crowds, but walks the cloister, or frequents the cathedral Milton probably had not yet forsaken the Church

Both his characters delight in musick, but he seems to think that chearful notes would have obtained from Pluto a compleat dismissal of Eurydice, of whom solemn sounds only procured a
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/ together in search of berries too far to find their way back, and

leave a helpless lady to all the sadness and danger of solitude. This however is a defect overbalanced by its convenience.

What deserves more reprehension is that the prologue spoken in the wild wood by the attendant Spirit is addressed to the audience; a mode of communication so contrary to the nature of dramattick representation, that no precedents can support it

The discourse of the Spirit is too long an objection that may be made to almost all the following speeches. they have not the spriteliness of dialogue animated by reciprocal contention, but seem rather declamations deliberately composed, and formally repeated, 10 on a moral question The auditor therefore listens as to a lecture, without passion, without anxiety

The song of Comus has airiness and jollity; but, what may recommend Milton's morals as well as his poetry, the invitations to pleasure are so general, that they excite no distinct images of corrupt enjoyment, and take no dangerous hold on the fancy.

The following soliloquies of Comus and the Lady are elegant, but tedious. The song must owe much to the voice, if it ever can delight At last the Brothers enter, with too much tranquillity, and when they have feared lest their sister should be in danger, and 20 hoped that she is not in danger, the Elder makes a speech in praise of chastity, and the Younger finds how fine it is to be a philosopher.

Then descends the Spirit in form of a shepherd; and the Brother, instead of being in haste to ask his help, praises his singing, and enquires his business in that place It is remarkable that at this interview the Brother is taken with a short fit of rhyming. The Spirit relates that the Lady is in the power of Comus; the Brother moralises again, and the Spirit makes a long narration, of no use because it is false, and therefore unsuitable to a good Being.

In all these parts the language is poetical, and the sentiments 30 are generous, but there is something wanting to allure attention

The dispute between the Lady and Comus is the most animated and affecting scene of the drama, and wants nothing but a brisker reciprocation of objections and replies, to invite attention and detain it

The songs are vigorous, and full of imagery; but they are harsh in their diction, and not very musical in their numbers

Throughout the whole, the figures are too bold, and the language too luxuriant for dialogue. It is a drama in the epick style, inelegant-ly splendid, and tediously instructive.

and of man, of angels good and evil, of man in his innocent and sinful state

Among the angels, the virtue of Raphael is mild and placid, of easy condescension and free communication, that of Michael is regal and lofty, and, as may seem, attentive to the dignity of his own nature. Abdiel and Gabriel appear occasionally, and act as every incident requires, the solitary fidelity of Abdiel is very amiably painted.

Of the evil angels the characters are more diversified. To Satan, as Addison observes, such sentiments are given as suit *the most exalted and most depraved being*. Milton has been censured, by Clarke,* for the impiety which sometimes breaks from Satan's mouth. For there are thoughts, as he justly remarks, which no observation of character can justify, because no good man would willingly permit them to pass, however transiently, through his own mind. To make Satan speak as a rebel, without any such expressions as might taint the reader's imagination, was indeed one of the great difficulties in Milton's undertaking, and I cannot but think he has extricated himself with great happiness. There is in Satan's speeches little that can give pain to a pious ear. The language of rebellion cannot be the same with that of obedience. The malignity of Satan foams in haughtiness and obstinacy; but his expressions are commonly general, and no otherwise offensive than as they are wicked.

The other chiefs of the celestial rebellion are very judiciously discriminated in the first and second books, and the ferocious character of Moloch appears, both in the battle and the council, with exact consistency.

To Adam and to Eve are given, during their innocence, such sentiments as innocence can generate and utter. Their love is pure benevolence and mutual veneration, their repasts are without luxury, and their diligence without toil. Their addresses to their Maker have little more than the voice of admiration and gratitude. Fruition left them nothing to ask, and Innocence left them nothing to fear.

But with guilt enter distrust and discord, mutual accusation, and stubborn self-defence, they regard each other with alienated minds, and dread their Creator as the avenger of their transgression. At last they seek shelter in his mercy, soften to repentance, and melt

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But with guilt enter distrust and discord, mutual accusation, and stubborn self-defence ; they regard each other with alienated minds, and dread their Creator as the avenger of their transgression At last they seek shelter in his mercy, soften to repentance, and melt

in supplication Both before and after the Fall the superiority of Adam is diligently sustained.

Of the *probable* and the *marvellous*, two parts of a vulgar epick poem, which immerge the critick in deep consideration, the "Paradise Lost" requires little to be said It contains the history of a miracle, of Creation and Redemption; it displays the power and the mercy of the Supreme Being, the probable therefore is marvellous, and the marvellous is probable The substance of the narrative is truth; and as truth allows no choice, it is, like necessity, superior to rule To the accidental or adventitious parts, as to every thing human, 10 some slight exceptions may be made. But the main fabrick is immovably supported

It is justly remarked by Addison that this poem has, by the nature of its subject, the advantage above all others, that it is universally and perpetually interesting All mankind will, through all ages, bear the same relation to Adam and to Eve, and must partake of that good and evil which extend to themselves.

Of the *machinery*, so called from *Theos apo mêchanês*, by which is meant the occasional interposition of supernatural power, another fertile topick of critical remarks, here is no room to speak, because 20 every thing is done under the immediate and visible direction of Heaven; but the rule is so far observed, that no part of the action could have been accomplished by any other means.

Of *episodes*, I think there are only two, contained in Raphael's relation of the war in heaven, and Michael's prophetick account of the changes to happen in this world Both are closely connected with the great action; one was necessary to Adam as a warning, the other as a consolation

To the compleatness or *integrity* of the design nothing can be objected; it has distinctly and clearly what Aristotle requires, a 30 beginning, a middle, and an end There is perhaps no poem of the same length, from which so little can be taken without apparent mutilation Here are no funeral games, nor is there any long description of a shield The short digressions at the beginning of the third, seventh, and ninth books, might doubtless be spared, but superfluities so beautiful, who would take away? or who does not wish that the author of the "Iliad" had gratified succeeding ages with a little knowledge of himself? Perhaps no passages are more frequently or more attentively read than those extrinsick paragraphs, and, since the end of poetry is pleasure, 40 that cannot be unpoetical with which all are pleased

The questions, whether the action of the poem be strictly *one*, whether the poem can be properly termed *heroick*, and who is the hero, are raised by such readers as draw their principles of judgment rather from books than from reason. Milton, though he intituled "*Paradise Lost*" only a *poem*, yet calls it himself *heroick song*. Dryden, petulantly and indecently, denies the heroism of Adam, because he was overcome, but there is no reason why the hero should not be unfortunate, except established practice, since success and virtue do not go necessarily together. Cato is the hero of Lucan, but Lucan's authority will not be suffered by Quintilian to decide. However, if success be necessary, Adam's deceiver was at last crushed, Adam was restored to his Maker's favour, and therefore may securely resume his human rank.

After the scheme and fabrick of the poem, must be considered its component parts, the sentiments and the diction.

The *sentiments*, as expressive of manners, or appropriated to characters, are, for the greater part, unexceptionably just.

Splendid passages, containing lessons of morality, or precepts of prudence, occur seldom. Such is the original formation of this poem, that as it admits no human manners till the Fall, it can give little assistance to human conduct. Its end is to raise the thoughts above sublunary cares or pleasures. Yet the praise of that fortitude, with which Abdiel maintained his singularity of virtue against the scorn of multitudes, may be accommodated to all times, and Raphael's reproof of Adam's curiosity after the planetary motions, with the answer returned by Adam, may be confidently opposed to any rule of life which any poet has delivered.

The thoughts which are occasionally called forth in the progress, are such as could only be produced by an imagination in the highest degree fervid and active, to which materials were supplied by incessant study and unlimited curiosity. The heat of Milton's mind might be said to sublimate his learning, to throw off into his work the spirit of science, unmingled with its grosser parts.

He had considered creation in its whole extent, and his descriptions are therefore learned. He had accustomed his imagination to unrestrained indulgence, and his conceptions therefore were extensive. The characteristic quality of his poem is sublimity. He sometimes descends to the elegant, but his element is the great. He can occasionally invest himself with grace: but his natural

port is gigantick loftiness* He can please when pleasure is required; but it is his peculiar power to astonish

He seems to have been well acquainted with his own genius, and to know what it was that Nature had bestowed upon him more bountifully than upon others; the power of displaying the vast, illuminating the splendid, enforcing the awful, darkening the gloomy, and aggravating the dreadful he therefore chose a subject on which too much could not be said, on which he might tire his fancy without the censure of extravagance

The appearances of nature, and the occurrences of life, did 10 not satiate his appetite of greatness. To paint things as they are requires a minute attention, and employs the memory rather than the fancy. Milton's delight was to sport in the wide regions of possibility, reality was a scene too narrow for his mind. He sent his faculties out upon discovery, into worlds where only imagination can travel, and delighted to form new modes of existence, and furnish sentiment and action to superior beings, to trace the counsels of hell, or accompany the choirs of heaven

But he could not be always in other worlds he must sometimes revisit earth, and tell of things visible and known. When he 20 cannot raise wonder by the sublimity of his mind, he gives delight by its fertility

Whatever be his subject, he never fails to fill the imagination But his images and descriptions of the scenes or operations of Nature do not seem to be always copied from original form, nor to have the freshness, raciness, and energy of immediate observation He saw Nature, as Dryden expresses it, *through the spectacles of books*, and on most occasions calls learning to his assistance The garden of Eden brings to his mind the vale of Enna, where Proserpine was gathering flowers Satan makes his way through fighting 30 elements, like Argo between the Cyanean rocks, or Ulysses between the two Sicilian whirlpools, when he shunned Charybdis on the larboard The mythological allusions have been justly censured, as not being always used with notice of their vanity, but they contribute variety to the narration, and produce an alternate exercise of the memory and the fancy

His similes are less numerous, and more various, than those of his predecessors But he does not confine himself within the limits of rigorous comparison his great excellence is amplitude,

* Algarotti terms it *gigantesca sublimita Miltoniana*

and he expands the adventitious image beyond the dimensions which the occasion required Thus, comparing the shield of Satan to the orb of the Moon, he crowds the imagination with the discovery of the telescope, and all the wonders which the telescope discovers

Of his moral sentiments it is hardly praise to affirm that they excel those of all other poets, for this superiority he was indebted to his acquaintance with the sacred writings The ancient epick poets, wanting the light of Revelation, were very unskilful
 10 teachers of virtue their principal characters may be great, but they are not amiable The reader may rise from their works with a greater degree of active or passive fortitude, and sometimes of prudence, but he will be able to carry away few precepts of justice, and none of mercy

From the Italian writers it appears that the advantages of even Christian knowledge may be supposed in vain Ariosto's pravity is generally known, and though the "Deliverance of Jerusalem" may be considered as a sacred subject, the poet has been very sparing of moral instruction

20 In Milton every line breathes sanctity of thought, and purity of manners, except when the train of the narration requires the introduction of the rebellious spirits, and even they are compelled to acknowledge their subjection to God, in such a manner as excites reverence, and confirms piety.

Of human beings there are but two, but those two are the
 30 parents of mankind, venerable before their fall for dignity and innocence, and amiable after it for repentance and submission. In their first state their affection is tender without weakness, and their piety sublime without presumption When they have sinned, they shew how discord begins in mutual frailty, and how it ought to cease in mutual forbearance, how confidence of the divine favour is forfeited by sin, and how hope of pardon may be obtained by penitence and prayer A state of innocence we can only conceive, if indeed, in our present misery, it be possible to conceive it, but the sentiments and worship proper to a fallen and offending being, we have all to learn, as we have all to practise

The poet, whatever be done, is always great Our progenitors, in their first state, conversed with angels, even when folly and sin had degraded them, they had not in their humiliation *the port of*
 40 *mean suitors*; and they rise again to reverential regard, when we find that their prayers were heard

As human passions did not enter the world before the Fall, there is in the "Paradise Lost" little opportunity for the pathetic, but what little there is has not been lost. That passion which is peculiar to rational nature, the anguish arising from the consciousness of transgression, and the horrors attending the sense of the Divine displeasure, are very justly described and forcibly impressed. But the passions are moved only on one occasion, sublimity is the general and prevailing quality in this poem, sublimity variously modified, sometimes descriptive, sometimes argumentative

10

The defects and faults of "Paradise Lost," for faults and defects every work of man must have, it is the business of impartial criticism to discover. As, in displaying the excellence of Milton, I have not made long quotations, because of selecting beauties there had been no end, I shall in the same general manner mention that which seems to deserve censure, for what Englishman can take delight in transcribing passages, which, if they lessen the reputation of Milton, diminish in some degree the honour of our country?

The generality of my scheme does not admit the frequent notice 20 of verbal inaccuracies, which Bentley, perhaps better skilled in grammar than in poetry, has often found, though he sometimes made them, and which he imputed to the obtrusions of a reviser whom the author's blindness obliged him to employ. A supposition rash and groundless, if he thought it true, and vile and pernicious, if, as is said, he in private allowed it to be false.

The plan of "Paradise Lost" has this inconvenience, that it comprises neither human actions nor human manners. The man and woman who act and suffer, are in a state which no other man or woman can ever know. The reader finds no transaction in which 30 he can be engaged, beholds no condition in which he can by any effort of imagination place himself, he has, therefore, little natural curiosity or sympathy.

We all, indeed, feel the effects of Adam's disobedience; we all sin like Adam, and like him must all bewail our offences; we have restless and insidious enemies in the fallen angels, and in the blessed spirits we have guardians and friends, in the Redemption of mankind we hope to be included in the description of heaven and hell we are surely interested, as we are all to reside hereafter either in the regions of horror or bliss

40

But these truths are too important to be new; they have been taught to our infancy, they have mingled with our solitary thoughts and familiar conversation, and are habitually interwoven with the whole texture of life. Being therefore not new, they raise no unaccustomed emotion in the mind, what we knew before, we cannot learn, what is not unexpected, cannot surprise.

Of the ideas suggested by these awful scenes, from some we recede with reverence, except when stated hours require their association, and from others we shrink with horror, or admit
 10 them only as salutary inflictions, as counterpoises to our interests and passions. Such images rather obstruct the career of fancy than incite it.

Pleasure and terror are indeed the genuine sources of poetry, but poetical pleasure must be such as human imagination can at least conceive, and poetical terror such as human strength and fortitude may combat. The good and evil of Eternity are too ponderous for the wings of wit, the mind sinks under them in passive helplessness, content with calm belief and humble adoration.

20 Known truths, however, may take a different appearance, and be conveyed to the mind by a new train of intermediate images. This Milton has undertaken, and performed with pregnancy and vigour of mind peculiar to himself. Whoever considers the few radical positions which the Scriptures afforded him, will wonder
 by what energetick operation he expanded them to such extent, and ramified them to so much variety, restrained as he was
 by religious reverence from licentiousness of fiction.

Here is a full display of the united force of study and genius, of a great accumulation of materials, with judgment to digest, and
 30 fancy to combine them. Milton was able to select from Nature, or from story, from ancient fable, or from modern science, whatever could illustrate or adorn his thoughts. An accumulation of knowledge impregnated his mind, fermented by study, and exalted by imagination.

It has been therefore said, without an indecent hyperbole, by one of his encomiasts, that in reading "Paradise Lost" we read a book of universal knowledge.

But original deficiency cannot be supplied. The want of human interest is always felt. "Paradise Lost" is one of the books which the reader admires and lays down, and forgets to take up.

again None ever wished it longer than it is. Its perusal is a duty rather than a pleasure We read Milton for instruction, retire harassed and overburdened, and look elsewhere for recreation, we desert our master, and seek for companions

Another inconvenience of Milton's design is that it requires the description of what cannot be described, the agency of spirits He saw that immateriality supplied no images, and that he could not show angels acting but by instruments of action, he therefore invested them with form and matter This, being necessary, was therefore defensible, and he should have secured the consistency of his system, by keeping immateriality out of sight, and enticing his reader to drop it from his thoughts But he has unhappily perplexed his poetry with his philosophy His infernal and celestial powers are sometimes pure spirit, and sometimes animated body When Satan walks with his lance upon the burning mail, he has a body, when, in his passage between hell and the new world, he is in danger of sinking in the vacuity, and is supported by a gust of rising vapours, he has a body; when he animates the toad, he seems to be mere spirit, that can penetrate matter at pleasure, when he starts up in his own shape, he has at least a 2 determined form, and when he is brought before Gabriel, he has a spear and a shield, which he had the power of hiding in the toad, though the arms of the contending angels are evidently material

The vulgar inhabitants of Pandæmonium, being *incorporeal spirits*, are at large, though without number, in a limited space, yet in the battle, when they were overwhelmed by mountains, their armour hurt them, *crushed in upon their substance, now grown gross by sinning* This likewise happened to the uncorrupted angels, who were overthrown the sooner for their arms, for *unarmed they might easily as spirits have evaded by contraction or remove* Even as 3 spirits they are hardly spiritual, for contraction and remove are images of matter; but if they could have escaped without their armour, they might have escaped from it, and left only the empty cover to be battered Uriel, when he rides on a sun-beam, is material, Satan is material when he is afraid of the prowess of Adam

The confusion of spirit and matter which pervades the whole narration of the war of heaven fills it with incongruity, and the book in which it is related is, I believe, the favourite of children, and gradually neglected as knowledge is increased—

After the operation of immaterial agents, which cannot be 40 explained, may be considered that of allegorical persons, which

have no real existence To exalt causes into agents, to invest abstract ideas with form, and animate them with activity, has always been the right of poetry But such airy beings are, for the most part, suffered only to do their natural office, and retire Thus Fame tells a tale, and Victory hovers over a general, or perches on a standard, but Fame and Victory can do no more To give them any real employment, or ascribe to them any material agency, is to make them allegorical no longer, but to shock the
 10 mind by ascribing effects to non-entity In the "Prometheus" of Æschylus we see *Violence* and *Strength*, and in the "Alcestis" of Euripides we see *Death*, brought upon the stage, all as active persons of the drama, but no precedents can justify absurdity

✓ Milton's allegory of Sin and Death is undoubtedly faulty Sin is indeed the mother of Death, and may be allowed to be the portress of hell, but when they stop the journey of Satan, a journey described as real, and when Death offers him battle, the allegory is broken That Sin and Death should have shewn the way to hell, might have been allowed, but they cannot facilitate the passage by building a bridge, because the difficulty of Satan's
 20 passage is described as real and sensible, and the bridge ought to be only figurative The hell assigned to the rebellious spirits is described as not less local than the residence of man It is placed in some distant part of space, separated from the regions of harmony and order by a chaotick waste and an unoccupied vacuity, but *Sin* and *Death* worked up a *mole of aggravated soil*, cemented with *asphaltus*, a work too bulky for ideal architects'

This unskilful allegory appears to me one of the greatest faults of the poem, and to this there was no temptation, but the author's opinion of its beauty

30 To the conduct of the narrative some objections may be made Satan is with great expectation brought before Gabriel in Paradise, and is suffered to go away unmolested The creation of man is represented as the consequence of the vacuity left in heaven by the expulsion of the rebels, yet Satan mentions it as a report *rise in heaven* before his departure

To find sentiments for the state of innocence, was very difficult, and something of anticipation perhaps is now and then discovered Adam's discourse of dreams seems not to be the speculation of a new-created being I know not whether his answer to the angel's
 40 reproof for curiosity does not want something of propriety it is the speech of a man acquainted with many other men Some

philosophical notions, especially when the philosophy is false, might have been better omitted. The angel, in a comparison, speaks of *timorous deer*, before deer were yet timorous, and before Adam could understand the comparison.

Dryden remarks that Milton has some flats among his elevations. This is only to say that all the parts are not equal. In every work one part must be for the sake of others, a palace must have passages, a poem must have transitions. It is no more to be required that wit should always be blazing, than that the sun should always stand at noon. In a great work there is a vicissitude of luminous 10 and opaque parts, as there is in the world a succession of day and night. Milton, when he has expatiated in the sky, may be allowed sometimes to revisit earth, for what author ever soared so high, or sustained his flight so long?

Milton, being well versed in the Italian poets, appears to have borrowed often from them; and, as every man catches something from his companions, his desire of imitating Ariosto's levity has disgraced his work with the "Paradise of Fools;" a fiction not in itself ill-imagined, but too ludicrous for its place.

His play on words, in which he delights too often; his equivoca- 20 tions, which Bentley endeavours to defend by the example of the ancients, his unnecessary and ungraceful use of terms of art—it is not necessary to mention, because they are easily remarked, and generally censured, and at last bear so little proportion to the whole, that they scarcely deserve the attention of a critic.

Such are the faults of that wonderful performance "Paradise Lost," which he who can put in balance with its beauties must be considered not as nice but as dull, as less to be censured for want of candour, than pitied for want of sensibility.

Of "Paradise Regained" the general judgment seems now to be 30 right, that it is in many parts elegant, and everywhere instructive. It was not to be supposed that the writer of "Paradise Lost" could ever write without great effusions of fancy, and exalted precepts of wisdom. The basis of "Paradise Regained" is narrow; a dialogue without action can never please like an union of the narrative and dramatick powers. Had this poem been written not by Milton, but by some imitator, it would have claimed and received universal praise.

If "Paradise Regained" has been too much depreciated, "Samson Agonistes" has in requital been too much admired. It could only be 40 by long prejudice, and the bigotry of learning, that Milton could

prefer the ancient tragedies, with their encumbrance of a chorus, to the exhibitions of the French and English stages, and it is only by a blind confidence in the reputation of Milton that a drama can be praised, in which the intermediate parts have neither cause nor consequence, neither hasten nor retard the catastrophe

In this tragedy are however many particular beauties, many just sentiments and striking lines, but it wants that power of attracting the attention which a well-connected plan produces.

10 Milton would not have excelled in dramatick writing; he knew human nature only in the gross, and had never studied the shades of character, nor the combinations of concurring, or the perplexity of contending, passions. He had read much, and knew what books could teach, but had mingled little in the world, and was deficient in the knowledge which experience must confer

Through all his greater works there prevails an uniform peculiarity of *diction*, a mode and cast of expression which bears little resemblance to that of any former writer, and which is so far removed from common use that an unlearned reader, when he first opens his book, finds himself surprised by new language

20 This novelty has been, by those who can find nothing wrong in Milton, imputed to his laborious endeavours after words suitable to the grandeur of ideas. *Our language*, says Addison, *sunk under him*. But the truth is that, both in prose and verse, he had formed his style by a perverse and pedantick principle. He was desirous to use English words with a foreign idiom. This in all his prose is discovered and condemned, for there judgment operates freely, neither softened by the beauty, nor awed by the dignity of his thoughts, but such is the power of his poetry, that his call is obeyed without resistance, the reader feels himself in captivity to a
30 higher and a nobler mind, and criticism sinks in admiration

Milton's style was not modified by his subject. what is shown with greater extent in "Paradise Lost" may be found in "Comus." One source of his peculiarity was his familiarity with the Tuscan poets, the disposition of his words is, I think, frequently Italian, perhaps sometimes combined with other tongues. Of him, at last, may be said what Jonson says of Spenser, that *he wrote no language*, but has formed what Butler calls a *Babylonish Dialect*, in itself harsh and barbarous, but made, by exalted genius and extensive learning, the vehicle of so much instruction and so much pleasure
40 that, like other lovers, we find grace in its deformity.

Whatever be the faults of his diction, he cannot want the praise of copiousness and variety · he was master of his language in its full extent; and has selected the melodious words with such diligence, that from his book alone the Art of English Poetry might be learned.

After his diction, something must be said of his *versification*. *The measure*, he says, *is the English heroick verse without rhyme*. Of this mode he had many examples among the Italians, and some in his own country. The Earl of Surrey is said to have translated one of Virgil's books without rhyme; and, besides our tragedies, a few short poems had appeared in blank verse particularly one 10 tending to reconcile the nation to Raleigh's wild attempt upon Guiana, and probably written by Raleigh himself. These petty performances cannot be supposed to have much influenced Milton, who more probably took his hint from Trisino's "*Italia Liberata*;" and, finding blank verse easier than rhyme, was desirous of persuading himself that it is better.

Rhyme, he says, and says truly, *is no necessary adjunct of true poetry*. But, perhaps, of poetry as a mental operation, metre or musick is no necessary adjunct: it is however by the musick of metre that poetry has been discriminated in all languages; and in lan- 20 guages melodiously constructed with a due proportion of long and short syllables, metre is sufficient. But one language cannot communicate its rules to another; where metre is scanty and imperfect, some help is necessary. The musick of the English heroick line strikes the ear so faintly that it is easily lost, unless all the syllables of every line co-operate together. this co-operation can be only obtained by the preservation of every verse unmingled with another, as a distinct system of sounds; and this distinctness is obtained and preserved by the artifice of rhyme. The variety of pauses, so much boasted by the lovers of blank verse, changes the 30 measures of an English poet to the periods of a declaimer; and there are only a few skilful and happy readers of Milton, who enable their audience to perceive where the lines end or begin. *Blank verse*, said an ingenious critick, *seems to be verse only to the eye*.

Poetry may subsist without rhyme, but English poetry will not often please; nor can rhyme ever be safely spared but where the subject is able to support itself. Blank verse makes some approach to that which is called the *lapidary style*; has neither the easiness of prose, nor the melody of numbers, and therefore tires by long continuance. Of the Italian writers without rhyme, whom Milton 40 alleges as precedents, not one is popular; what reason could urge in its defence, has been confuted by the ear,

But, whatever be the advantage of rhyme, I cannot prevail on myself to wish that Milton had been a rhymer ; for I cannot wish his work to be other than it is , yet, like other heroes, he is to be admired rather than imitated. He that thinks himself capable of astonishing may write blank verse ; but those that hope only to please must condescend to rhyme

The highest praise of genius is original invention. Milton cannot be said to have contrived the structure of an epick poem, and therefore owes reverence to that vigour and amplitude of mind to which all generations must be indebted for the art of poetical narration, for the texture of the fable, the variation of incidents, the interposition of dialogue, and all the stratagems that surprise and enchain attention. But, of all the borrowers from Homer, Milton is perhaps the least indebted. He was naturally a thinker for himself, confident of his own abilities, and disdainful of help or hindrance. He did not refuse admission to the thoughts or images of his predecessors, but he did not seek them. From his contemporaries he neither courted nor received support, there is in his writings nothing by which the pride of other authors might be gratified, or 20 favour gained, no exchange of praise or solicitation of support. His great works were performed under discountenance, and in blindness, but difficulties vanished at his touch, he was born for whatever is arduous, and his work is not the greatest of heroick poems, only because it is not the first

NOTES.

Page 1. 1 Already written The first of these of any importance was that by Anthony Wood (see note to page 12, line 12), included in his *Athenæ Oxonienses* (1691) and based on a memoir by John Aubrey (1626-1697), who had known Milton personally. In 1694 the poet's nephew, Edward Philips, published an English edition of Milton's "Letters of State" to which he prefixed an account of his uncle's life. Amongst later Lives may be mentioned that prefixed to Toland's edition of Milton's Prose Works, published in 1698; some details in the "Explanatory Notes on Paradise Lost" published by the two Richardsons (see note to page 24, line 25) in 1734, and a Memoir prefixed to Birch's edition of the Prose Works in 1738 (see note to page 14, line 40).

3 Mr Fenton's Abridgement Elijah Fenton (1685-1730), one of the poets whose lives were written by Johnson, is best known as having collaborated with Pope in the translation of the *Odyssey*, of which he rendered four books into English verse. He also undertook, says Johnson, "to revise the punctuation of Milton's poems, which, as the author neither wrote the original copy nor corrected the press, was supposed capable of amendment. To this edition he prefixed a short and elegant account of Milton's life, written at once with tenderness and integrity."

But that, if it had not been the case that.

5. This edition, the collection of English poetical works for which Johnson originally wrote these Lives; see the Introduction.

6. Descended from, etc Such is the account given by Edward Philips; "he is said to have been descended of an ancient family of the Miltons of Milton near Abingdon in Oxfordshire, where they had been a long time seated—till one of the family, having taken the wrong side in the contests between the Houses of York and Lancaster, was sequestered of all his estate but what he held by his wife." Here Philips confuses a Milton near Abingdon in Berkshire with one near Thame in Oxfordshire, to which Anthony Wood refers; and is probably only trying to boast a little of his uncle's pedigree, for "as to the alleged Miltons of Milton in Oxfordshire research has been fruitless . . . The conclusion is that there never was a race of persons in Oxfordshire answering exactly to the imposing idea called up by the phrase *Miltons of Milton*, and that Philips' tradition of the ruin of the family by the Wars of the Roses is but the repetition of a legend common to many families" (Masson, *Life*, i. 9-10). Milton himself only tells us (in the *Defensio Secunda*) that he came *ex genere honesto*, of an honourable, or respectable, family.

8 Forfeited, lost his right to it, through some misdeed In this case, of course, he would be deprived of it by the rival party when it gained the upper hand for a time

The times of York and Lancaster, during the Wars of the Roses, between the rival families of York and Lancaster (1455-1485) Masson (*Life*, i 11) remarks that there were "at least two Miltons in England living immediately before the Wars of the Roses in such circumstances that they could be included among the minor gentry , and both of these were in the circle of country which may be called the traditional Milton neighbourhood, to wit, Oxfordshire and the adjacent counties "

10 The White Rose was the emblem of the House of York It was, however, the Red Rose rather than the White which triumphed in the person of Henry VII and his successors , and though the White Rose may be said to have become the badge of the English monarchy when James, Duke of York, mounted the throne, this was not until 1685, some years after Milton's death Johnson may, as Mr Ryland suggests, be applying the expression proleptically to the earlier Stuarts, but, in any case, his use of it seems rather loose

11 His grandfather John, etc. After giving a list of five Miltons, Masson (*Life*, i 14) observes that "not one of them corresponds in all points to the description of the poet's grandfather, the Milton of Holton, who was under-ranger of Shotover Forest, and whose name was probably John " It has, however, been shown since the foregoing was written that the poet's grandfather was really *Richard* Milton, a yeoman of Stanton St John's, which is a small village about five miles east of Oxford, and on the other side of Shotover Forest Of this forest he may have been an under-ranger , but the office of "ranger" or "keeper" of a royal forest was at that time almost invariably held by a nobleman

A zealous papist "He was very resolute in his adherence to the old religion, and is mentioned twice in the Recusant Rolls for Oxfordshire as among those who were heavily fined towards the end of Elizabeth's reign (1601) for obstinate non-attendance at their parish churches" (Masson, *Poetical Works*, i 296).

15 Scrivener is derived from the Latin *scrība* through the Old-French *escrivain*, a scribe or writer "Scriveneis, as the name implies, were originally penmen of all kinds of writings In process of time, however, and especially after the invention of printing, the business of the scrivener had become very much that of a modern attorney, or of an attorney in conjunction with a law-stationer. They drew up wills, leases, and such other assurances as it required but little skill in law to prepare" (Masson, *Life*, i 20 , cp *Poetical Works*, i 297)

Eminent, etc Masson mentions (*Life*, i 37) that "in a collection of madrigals which was published in 1601 and long afterwards retained its celebrity, he is found associated as a contributor with twenty-one of the first English composers then living " Other compositions of his have also been traced

18 Had more than common literature, was a man of more learning and scholarship than most

19 One of, etc, that entitled *Ad Patrem*, "To my Father," a Latin hexameter poem of 120 lines, probably written after the poet had left Cambridge Masson gives an English version of it, *Poetical Works*, i 299

20 Caston So says Philips, whose grandmother she was ("Sarah, of the family of the Castons, derived originally from Wales") Aubrey, followed by Wood, makes her name Bradshaw It has, however, been ascertained that the maiden name of Milton's mother was Jeffrey or Jeffreys, her mother having been a Mrs Ellen Jeffreys, wife of a Paul Jeffreys, who came of an Essex family but resided in London, see Masson, *Works*, i 1, 2

Two sons Milton's parents had six children, but three of them died in infancy, leaving a daughter, Anne, and the two sons named by Johnson Of these John was born in 1608, Christopher in 1615.

22 As the law taught him Here, as often, Johnson allows his own Tory principles to be seen, his saying that "the first Whig was the Devil" is well known (Boswell, iii 326)

The King's party, i e, the Royalist side in the Civil War He was actually one of the Royal Commissioners for sequestrating the estates of the Parliamentarians in three counties For this he had to make his submission to the Parliament in 1646, and to pay a considerable fine, the enquiries into the extent of his property and other legal proceedings extended over five years, and must have caused Christopher much worry and anxiety, which Johnson alludes to here under the name of "persecution"

24. Interest, influence with the ruling party

25 Chamber-practice, such legal work as does not involve appearing in court, but can be done in the lawyer's own chambers, e.g., giving advice to clients, or a written opinion upon some legal point

26 Made a Judge This was in 1686 Under June 2nd Evelyn notes in his Diary, "New judges also here, amongst which was Milton, a Papist (brother to that Milton who wrote for the Regicides) who presumed to take his place without passing the test" (After an undistinguished career as a judge, Sir Christopher retired in 1688, and died in 1693)

28. Disreputable compliances (Some of the judges sacrificed their reputation and principles in order to comply with the king's wishes), James, for instance, claimed a "dispensing power" by which he could admit Roman Catholics to any office, in defiance of the laws, in this he was upheld by eleven judges out of twelve, but he had taken care to learn their sentiments in advance, and to displace those who seemed to be opposed to him (See Bright's *History*, ii. 771)

Page 2 i He, *i* e, the poet's father

3 The Crown-office (An important Government office) is meant, then known as the Crown Office in Chancery. The head of it was the Clerk of the Crown, who had to be in constant attendance on the Lord Chancellor (either personally or by deputy), to make out writs for summoning new Parliaments, as well as for the election of new members of the House of Commons, and to draw up judicial and legal commissions of various kinds. His office was abolished in the reign of William IV. The secondary appears to have been the Clerk of the Crown's deputy.

4 John was really the younger of the two. Edward's account of Milton's life has been referred to in a previous note.

5 Domestick manners, his way of life in his own home. In Johnson's time it was the fashion to spell words like *domestic*, *authentic*, *public*, *music*, *etc.*, with a final *k*, but the Latin words from which they are derived have no *k*, and the addition was quite unnecessary.

7 The Spread-Eagle, an eagle with outstretched wings, used as a sign over the door of the house. "In those days houses in cities were not numbered as now, and persons in business to whom it was of consequence to have a distinct address, effected the purpose by exhibiting over their doors some sign or emblem" (Masson, *Life*, i 3). He adds that "this fashion was once common to all trades and professions," though it is now almost confined to inns and taverns. From about 1766 these signs began to disappear, and their place was taken by numbers.

8 Bread-street struck off from Cheapside, one of the principal streets in the City of London. The name has been retained to the present day, but the actual street in which Milton lived was destroyed by the great Fire of London, in 1666. In Milton's time it was one of the most respectable streets in the city, "wholly inhabited by rich merchants," with two parish-churches, and "divers fair inns." (See Masson, *Life*, i 30).

11 Thomas Young, a Scotchman, who afterwards became a Puritan minister in England. For how long he taught the young Milton we do not know, but he went to Hamburg about 1622. In 1628 he returned to England and received a good living in Suffolk. In 1641 he became famous as one of the authors of the so-called "Treatise by Smectymnuus" (see page 10, line 3), and in 1644 was made Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, by the Parliament. He died in 1655. (See Masson, *Poetical Works*, i 261.)

12 Hamburg, Hamburg, an important commercial city in the north of Germany.

13 An epistolary Elegy, Milton's fourth Latin elegy (Masson, *Works*, i. 260, 484), written at the age of eighteen. Amongst other

topics the writer apologises for not having written to Young for two years ; and as the elegy itself was to take the place of a letter, Johnson calls it "epistolary." By an elegy was originally meant a (1) mournful and plaintive poem, but the name was extended to any (2) composition written in the "elegiac" metre, i.e., in alternate hexameters and pentameters; and Milton's Elegies, like those of his models, the Latin poets Ovid, Propertius, Tibullus, *etc.*, treat of all sorts of subjects.

15 St Paul's School. This famous school, which stood not far from Bread-street, was founded in 1512 by John Colet, Dean of St Paul's Cathedral

Mr Gill, Alexander Gill, an Oxford man, appointed high master of St. Paul's School in 1608 His son, Alexander, who was a friend and correspondent of Milton, became his assistant in 1619 (probably just before Milton went to the school), and succeeded him as its head in 1635 Both the Gills were Puritans

17 Entered a sizar This is the technical expression, though ordinarily we should say "entered as a sizar."

The statement that Milton was a sizar is not correct, the College entry-book shows that he entered as a "lesser pensioner" "The greater pensioners pay most, they are usually the sons of wealthy families The sizars on the other hand are poorer students, they pay least, and though receiving the same education as the others, have a lower rank and inferior accommodation. Intermediate between the greater pensioners and the sizars are the lesser pensioners; and it is to this class that the bulk of the students in all the colleges at Cambridge belong" (Masson, *Life*, i 89) The word *sizar* is derived from *size*, or *sizing* (the technical name at Cambridge for a small allowance of bread, butter, drink, etc.), probably because the sizar had to serve the others with their sizings, in fact, at Oxford the corresponding term was servitor These menial duties and social distinctions have now been done away with

1624 The date is given according to the old reckoning (sometimes indicated by the letters O S, *i.e.*, Old Style), by which the year began on March 25, instead of on January 1st According to this style, Milton's entry took place in 1624, whereas according to our present mode of reckoning it was in 1625 It was in 1752 that the change was introduced into England *N.B.*—In these notes the dates are given throughout according to the New Style

19 Annexing the dates, *etc.* Milton prefixes the date, or (more often) the year of his age, to most of his earlier writings, both Latin and English

20 Politian, or Poliziano, a celebrated Italian scholar and poet (1454-1494) His Latin poems were also famous, and in 1734 Johnson had proposed to publish an edition of them, but the work was never carried out

21 Commend the earliness, etc., draw the attention of posterity to the early age at which he became proficient in composition

22 Vernal fertility, youthful proficiency in writing verses, youth being often called the *spring time* of life

23 Cowley Abraham Cowley (1618-1667) published his earliest poems in 1633, at the age of fifteen (Johnson wrongly says *thirteen* in his Life of Cowley) Johnson's estimate of the relative merit of his Latin poems and Milton's is not supported by Macaulay, who remarks in his Essay on Milton, "Cowley, with all his admirable wit and ingenuity, had little imagination, nor indeed do we think his classical diction comparable to that of Milton. The authority of Johnson is against us on this point. But Johnson had studied the bad writers of the Middle Ages till he had become utterly insensible to the Augustan elegance, and was as ill qualified to judge between two Latin styles as a habitual drunkard to set up for a wine-taster."

25 Essays, attempts, their first literary efforts

27 Till he is sixteen, *i.e.*, throughout what we should now call his "sixteenth year" The date of these compositions would therefore be 1624, his last year at St Paul's. Masson says of them that "they prove him to have been even then a careful reader of contemporary English poetry, and in particular of Spenser and of Sylvester's *Du Bartas*" (*Works*, i. 114, 341) In the *Life* (i. 78) he adds that they "are clear, firmly-worded, and harmonious," and dismisses Johnson's criticism with the remark that "Apollo himself when at school would hardly have *excited wonder* in paraphrasing a Psalm."

32 His eighteenth year, *i.e.*, 1626, to which date belong the first, second, and third of the Latin elegies

34 Nice discernment, the power of accurately distinguishing between their beauties and defects

Mr Hampton James Hampton (1721-1778) published a translation of Polybius' history which was reviewed by Johnson in the *Literary Magazine* in 1756. *Polybius* was a Greek, born between 214 and 204 B.C. In 168 he was carried to Italy amongst the 1,000 prominent Achæans removed by the Romans as hostages, and there he spent seventeen years, during which he became intimate with Scipio Africanus and other eminent Romans, and collected the materials for his great history of Rome, part of which has survived. He died in Greece at the age of 82.

36 The revival of letters, *i.e.*, of the study of Latin and Greek literature, the interest in which revived in Western Europe during the period which followed the taking of Constantinople by the Turks (1453), commonly called the period of the Renaissance

38 Haddon Dr. Walter Haddon (1516-1572), after holding a professorship of Law at Cambridge, became President of Magdalen

College, Oxford, in 1552, but retired when Mary came to the throne. He afterwards entered parliament, and served on various royal commissions. His numerous Latin writings received unqualified praise in his own day, but Hallam denies that he succeeded in catching Cicero's manner, or in getting rid of the florid style of the 4th century.

Ascham Roger Ascham (1515-1568) was Public Orator at Cambridge, and Latin Secretary to both Mary and Elizabeth, to the latter of whom he had also been tutor. Both as a scholar and as an educationalist, he was one of the most eminent Englishmen of his day, and his letters, whether English or Latin, are excellent pieces of composition.

40 We, *i.e.*, the English nation.

42 Alabaster's *Roxana*. William Alabaster (1567-1640) is praised in enthusiastic terms by Spenser for a Latin Epic in praise of Queen Elizabeth, which was never completed, and Anthony Wood calls him "the rarest poet that any one age or nation produced." His Latin tragedy *Roxana* was acted about 1592 in the hall of Trinity College, Cambridge, of which Alabaster was a Fellow, it is borrowed almost entirely from the *Dalida* of the Italian poet Grotto. Hallam allows Alabaster "spirit and fire, with some degree of skill," but adds that he is "inflated and hyperbolic to excess, which is not the case with Grotto."

Page 3. 1 These exercises, etc., Latin discussions conducted by undergraduates in their last year at the University. At the beginning of the academic year the names of all those who wished to take their degree that year were collected, and each man was informed that he would have to appear on a certain date as Respondent in the University schools. Each man then gave in a list of three propositions which he was prepared to maintain; and three men were selected from other colleges to act as his Opponents. On the given day the discussion took place in Latin in the presence of a Master of Arts, who acted as Moderator, and those candidates or graduates who chose to attend. Each student had to keep two such "Responsions" and two "Opponencies" before he could appear for his degree examination (see Masson, *Life*, i. 116).

His maturer years. In 1674, together with certain "Familiar Letters," seven of Milton's academical exercises were published (see page 35), discussing such subjects as "Whether Day or Night is the more excellent?" "Of the Music of the Spheres," "That occasional sportive relaxations are not obstructive to philosophical studies," etc. Portions of them are translated by Masson, *Life*, i. 242-273.

5 With no great fondness. On this subject Masson remarks (*Works*, i. 4) that "although Milton never looked back on Cambridge with any great affection, and although it is certain that in the beginning of his undergraduateship he was unpopular among the rougher men in his own college, there is nevertheless the most

positive evidence that his career at the University was one of industrious and persevering success, and that even before the close of his undergraduateship he had beaten down all opposition, and gained a reputation quite extraordinary." In support of this we have Milton's own statement in the *Apology for Smectymnus*, quoted by Johnson himself on page 13. Johnson, in fact, should have distinguished between Milton's University career as a whole and the period of his undergraduateship, during the first year or two of the latter it is clear that he did not get on very well with the college authorities (see notes below) and in 1628 he wrote to Gill "complaining of the want of genial companionship at Cambridge, and of the low intellectual condition of those with whom he was obliged to consort." Moreover Johnson has on his side the fact "that, with whatever reputation Milton left college in 1632, within ten years from that date a report did arise, and was circulated in print by his adversaries, that he and the University had parted on bad terms. The report was a calumny, but that a calumny against him should have taken this form shows that there were circumstances aiding in its invention." What these circumstances were, Masson proceeds to explain, *Life*, i 236.

Fellowship There had been two vacancies amongst the fellows of the college since Milton took his B. A. degree, but in both cases he was passed over in favour of younger men who were supported by Court or other influence. But, as Pattison points out (page 8), "even if a fellowship in his college had been attainable, it would not have had much attraction for Milton. A fellowship implied two things, residence in college, with teaching, and orders in the Church. With neither of these two conditions was Milton prepared to comply."

6 Not merely negative, it did not merely consist in withholding from him something to which he was entitled, he was treated with positive unkindness in the shape of the "corporal correction" which Johnson proceeds to mention.

8 Either university, either Oxford or Cambridge. These two were then always spoken of as "*the Universities*," and are so still at times.

9 Public indignity, etc. Such a punishment was quite possible in the case of undergraduates who were not considered adult. The limit of age does not seem to have been exactly defined, but there appears to have been an understanding that after the age of eighteen corporal punishment should not be inflicted, and by the new statutes for Oxford of 1635 it was restricted to those under sixteen, though even as late as 1649 a certain Henry Stubbe was publicly flogged at Christ Church, Oxford, when eighteen. Such having been the practice, if Milton really underwent anything of the kind it must have been early in his undergraduate career, for he attained the age of eighteen in December, 1626. But the story has no better authority than a note added to Aubrey's manuscript life of Milton, the text of which says that he "was a very hard student in the University, and performed all his exercises with very good

applause His first tutor there was Mr Chappell, from whom receiving some unkindness, he was (though it seemed contrary to the rules of the college) transferred to the tuition of "a certain Mr. Tovey These particulars profess to have been derived from Milton's brother, Christopher but between the lines (above *received some unkindness*) Aubrey inserted the words "whipt him," which Masson is inclined to regard as a piece of gossip picked up subsequently. That there was some unpleasantness between Milton and his first tutor may be regarded as certain, something very similar is related of Goldsmith, who is said to have been knocked down by his tutor at Trinity College, Dublin, and it is possible that Aubrey's interlinear remark may only mean that Chappell was provoked into striking Milton on some occasion. See Masson, *Life*, i 135. Pattison, page 6 (the latter mentions a case of corporal punishment at Cambridge as late as 1667)

10 In the violence, etc., in the course of the bitter controversies in which Milton was engaged in later years with political and religious opponents It was objected to him, it was made a matter of accusation against him, the charge was cast in his teeth.

12 Diodati Charles Diodati had been a schoolfellow of Milton's at St Paul's, and was his dearest friend for many years subsequently He came of an Italian family, which quitted Italy on account of its Protestant opinions Charles' father practised as a doctor in London, and Charles himself, after taking his degree at Trinity College, Oxford, in 1625, took up the study of medicine He died at the early age of thirty, in 1638 The verses quoted by Johnson form part of Milton's first Latin elegy

13 Rustication, the punishment of being sent down from the university into the country (Latin *rus*) the usual result is that the undergraduate loses a term, and is unable to take his degree as soon as he otherwise would This, however, was not the case with Milton, whether his absence from Cambridge was voluntary, or really due to rustication, at any rate he seems to have been allowed to return in time to keep his term, for we know that he took his degree at the earliest possible date The fact of his being transferred to another tutor also shows that Milton cannot have been considered wholly to blame.

Dismissal We should now use the form *dismissal*

15 Me tenet, etc From the First Elegy, lines 9-12, 15-20 "I am at present held by that city which the Thames washes with its ebbing waters, and, not unwilling, am possessed by my dear home At present I am not anxious to revisit the reedy Cam, nor am I troubled by love for the dwelling from which I am excluded . . Nor do I care any longer to bear the threats of a harsh master, and other things not to be endured by a temperlike mine If it be exile to have gone to my father's house, to be free from cares, and to be pursuing agreeable relaxations, then indeed I refuse neither the name nor the lot of a fugitive, and I gladly enjoy the condition of exile "

25 Any meaning but this, viz, that Milton had incurred rustication.

29 And something else, etc "This line obviously means nothing but a repugnance to the observation of those petty formalities and rules which irritate and insult great minds it is absurd to construe it to have been corporal punishment" (quoted by Cunningham from Sir Egerton Brydges' *Life of Milton*)

32 It concludes, etc "It is settled that I should go back to the rushy marshes of the Cam, and once more approach the murmurs of the hoarse-sounding school" (lines 89-90)

36 Batchelor This spelling of the word *bachelor* is found most commonly in writers of the 16th and 17th centuries

37 With no kindness, etc, without any kindly feelings towards its system of instruction This use of *institute* and its cognate forms in the sense of "instruct" is now obsolete, but Milton himself speaks of "the *institutor* of his youth," and Jeremy Taylor (1613-1667) calls one of his works "A short catechism for the *institution* of young persons in the Christian Religion"

39 Governors, i.e., the college authorities

Captious is applied to a fault-finding disposition, ever ready to raise objections

41 Inscribed, addressed Samuel *Harlib* was the son of a Polish merchant who had settled in Prussia and there married an English woman Samuel was thus half English, and from 1628 onwards he made London his headquarters "By the common consent of all who have explored the intellectual and social history of England in the 17th century, he is one of the most interesting and memorable figures of that whole period He was one of those persons who take an interest in every question or project of their time promising social improvement" (Masson, *Life*, iii 193, seq) He was probably eight or ten years older than Milton, who in 1644 addressed his Tract on Education to him see Masson, iii 233-250

Academical, such as was given in the *academies*, or seats of higher education, viz, the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The expression, however, is not very fortunate on Johnson's part, since Milton expressly states his object to be to establish *academies* all over the country, each of them to be at once school and university, and to hold about 130 students There were indeed to be "peculiar" colleges of Law and Medicine, to give the needful special instruction, but otherwise the proposed *academies* were to be absolutely sufficient for "those general studies which take up all our time from Lilly [a writer on grammar] to the commencing, as they term it, Master of Arts"

Page 41 Proceed masters of arts From the above quotation it will be seen that the word actually used by Milton is *commence*, which was the technical term for taking the master's degree at the university. Hence the day on which degrees are conferred is still called the *Commencement*, both at Cambridge and at Dublin

2 On the likehest Way, etc., "Considerations touching the likehest means to remove Hirelings out of the Church," addressed by Milton to the Parliament in 1659 Johnson's quotation is by no means exact, as he partly compresses the original, partly adds to it. Milton says, "But be the expense [of educating ministers and teachers] less or more, if it be found burdensome to the churches, they have in this land an easy remedy in their recourse to the civil magistrate, who hath in his hands the disposal of no small revenues, left perhaps anciently to superstitious, but meant undoubtedly to good, uses And those uses may be to erect in greater number all over the land schools, and competent libraries to those schools, where languages and arts may be taught free together, without the needless, unprofitable, and inconvenient removing to another place But how they shall live when they are thus bred and dismissed will be still the sluggish objection To which is answered that those public foundations may be so instituted, as the youth therein may be at once brought up to a competence of learning and to an honest trade" The rest of Johnson's paragraph does not seem to occur in the original

Hirelings are those who serve a master for wages merely, and not out of any special love for their occupation Hence Milton applies the term to those who become clergymen merely as a means of earning their living, or, as he says in *Lycidas*, 114—

"such as, for their bellies' sake,
Creep, and intrude, and climb into the fold"

4 The act for superstitious uses, &c., for putting a stop to superstitious practices It will have been seen from the quotation above that Milton says nothing about such an Act, Mr Deighton thinks that Johnson is referring to the Statutes of Mortmain, or laws forbidding the bestowal of lands upon religious associations Such a practice had been common enough at one time, for the "superstitious" purpose of securing the giver's eternal welfare

Competency, an adequate amount; that is to say, an amount sufficient for their purposes, but not including all sorts of unnecessary and practically useless subjects

7 Had the gift, were spiritually qualified to be "worthy preachers"

Without tithes It was a Jewish custom, adopted by the Christian Church, to offer a *tithe*, or tenth part, of each year's produce (or its equivalent in money) for the support of the priests The Parliament of 1653 had taken some steps towards abolishing the system of tithes, on which Church government largely rested, and Milton was in favour of such a proceeding Cromwell, however, was against it, and was supported by the "Petition and Advice" of the Parliament of 1657.

8 The latter, the honest trade, the former, the competency of learning

11 Designed for orders, etc , who intended to become clergymen. The *orders* are the various ranks amongst the clergy , hence, to *take orders* (or *Holy Orders*) is to become a clergyman.

12 Permitted to act plays " The custom of performing plays at public schools and the Universities was at its height in the great dramatic age of James I and Charles I At the Universities, whenever there was a visit from Royalty or from some great personage, the entertainment always included dramatic performances, sometimes in English, more frequently in Latin' (Masson, *Life*, 1 187). According to a note in Cunningham, the last dramatic performance at either university was *The Grateful Fair*, written by Christopher Smart, and acted at Pembroke College, Cambridge, about 1747 At the present time there is a flourishing Dramatic Society at both Oxford and Cambridge, though the performances are not of the same official nature

Unboning, twisting about as if there were no bones in them

Clergy limbs The adjectival use of the former word is not common, except in one or two phrases, such as *clergy-man* Johnson has only referred to men *designed* for orders, but Milton speaks of "so many young divines," i e , clergymen, the young Fellows of the Colleges, no doubt, being also seen on the stage The quotation is from Milton's *Apology for Smectymnus*, published in 1642

13 Antick, grotesque and ludicrous The word is the same as *antique* (Latin *antiquus*), meaning originally old-fashioned, and so, odd and grotesque the adjective is no longer used, but we have the substantive *antics*, for strange and ludicrous gestures

Dishonest is used in its primary sense of dishonourable, shameful, or even indecent.

Trinculos There is a jester called Trinculo in Shakespeare's *Tempest*, to which Milton is probably referring , though an anonymous commentator, quoted by Mr Ryland, says that "by the mention of this name he evidently refers to *Albemazon*, acted at Cambridge in 1614 "

Buffoons, jesters who perform vulgar tricks and antics Bawds, persons who procure women for purposes of prostitution

14 That ministry, etc , the ministry (or service) of the Church , some were already clergymen, others were about to become so, yet they prostituted their sacred office in this way

15 Grooms, attendants , not in the narrow sense, which prevails now, of a servant who has charge of horses.

Mademoiselles, the maids in attendance on the ladies , an English plural of the French *mademoiselle*, really a title of respect, corresponding to the English *Miss*

Milton's use of the word leads Masson (191) to think that if he had the performance of any one University play more in his mind than another, it was that of Stubbe's *Fraus Honesta* before the French Ambassador and Lord Holland, in 1629. The only other very notable dramatic performance during Milton's residence at Cambridge was in 1632, when Hausted's *Rival Friends* and Randolph's *Jealous Lovers* were performed before the King and Queen. The characters of the latter play were of the sort that Milton denounces, including as they do a profligate son, a courtesan, a bawd, &c.

18 Great luxuriance, at considerable length, the passage occupies lines 27 to 46 of the first Elegy. "When I am wearied," he says, "the pomp of the winding theatre takes me hence, and the garrulous stage calls me to its applauses," he then proceeds to describe various comedies and tragedies.

19 Plays were therefore, etc., we must infer that Milton approved of plays when represented by professional actors; it was only when acted by *academicks*, i.e., University men, that they became criminal. The fact is that Milton could not resist the temptation to adopt the usual intolerant tone of the Puritans towards the drama, when it was convenient for his controversial purposes; this did not prevent him from enjoying a play himself in his better moments, or from admiring Shakespeare and Ben Jonson.

21 Entering into the Church, a common expression for becoming a clergyman, though an inaccurate one, since, strictly speaking, every one who is baptized thereby enters the Christian Church, but the word "Church" has come to be used sometimes in a narrow sense of those who are particularly engaged in its ministry, *viz.*, the clergy.

23 Subscribe slave, write himself down as a slave. The quotation is from the "Reason of Church Government," published in 1641. At that time candidates for Holy Orders were required to take the oaths of allegiance to the Crown, of supremacy (in acknowledgment of the King as supreme in England both in spiritual and in temporal affairs), and of canonical obedience (i.e., of obedience to their ecclesiastical superiors, the bishops and archbishops), in addition, they had to *subscribe*, or sign their names to, three Articles accepting the King's supremacy, the Book of Common Prayer, and the Book of Thirty-nine Articles of Religion (drawn up in 1562). These three Articles were made the test of orthodoxy by one of the 141 Canons by which the constitution of the English Church was settled in 1604.

23 Withal, in addition. Which unless he took. We should now break up the relative pronoun into "and unless he took it," but Milton is fond of the Latin construction.

24 Retch, vomit it up again. To *retch* is, properly, to make an effort to vomit.

Straight, immediately,

26 Before We more commonly say *to* , "before" is really contained in the first part of *prefer*

The office of speaking, *viz* , on behalf of the Church, in the discharge of a clergyman's duty Milton calls it "the *sacred* office "

27 Forswearing, perjury , the prefix has an intensive force, apparently because the more loudly a man swears to his statements, the more likely they are to be false

28 Are, I find, applied, etc Johnson means that they are commonly explained as referring to the necessity of signing the three Articles named above But Milton had already subscribed these twice, on the occasions of taking his B A and M A degrees for since 1623 such subscription had been required from graduates. Hence Masson thinks that " what he had in view, when he hesitated to become a clergyman, was, in all probability, less the letter of the Articles to be subscribed and of the oaths to be taken, than the general condition of the Church at that time—which condition may have been such in his opinion as to invest the subscription and the oaths with a more repulsive character than at an earlier period " (1 293)

29 Canonical, in accordance with the *canons*, or rules of the Church The oath of canonical obedience has been mentioned in a preceding note

30 Thwart, be contrary to , not in its more usual sense of frustrating, or defeating, a purpose In a somewhat similar manner Milton speaks of a shooting star *thwarting* the night, *i e* , passing *across* the darkness (*Par Lost*, iv 557).

31 Canonical or civil, whether imposed by ecclesiastical or by civil authority

33 Not yet advanced, which had not yet gone so far as to make him resolve, *etc* The letter referred to here is now in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge , " it must have been written," says Masson, " in December, 1631, or early in 1632, and was clearly meant to be sent to some friend in Cambridge, his senior in years, who had been remonstrating with him on his aimless course of life at the University " He gives the letter in full, 1 289-292

35 Suspended, remaining in an undecided condition his future career was left in suspense

37 Fantastick luxury, etc , fanciful revelling in a great variety of subjects According to Milton, his reprover had said that too much love of learning was the cause of the delay, and that he had given himself up to dream away his years in the arms of studious retirement

37 Cool, calm

39 Desultory, passing from one subject to another, without method; derived from the Latin *desultor*, a jumper

40 That he goes on, etc., that he continues his present mode of life, in the belief that to make himself really *fit* for his profession was of more importance than to enter it as early as possible, 'not troubling about the fact of entering it late, provided that it is advantageous to be more fit.'

To this letter Milton appended a copy of his Sonnet "On his having arrived at the Age of 23"

Page 51 When he left, etc This was in July, 1632, after he had taken his M A degree and at Horton he remained until April, 1638. The house which the Miltons occupied appears to have been pulled down about 1798.

4 With what limitations, etc., who can tell us in what sense this word *all* is to be understood, and how many writers are included in it? for that Milton could have read literally every Greek and Roman writer is impossible. Milton himself does not use the word *all*, but only says that he "spent a complete holiday at Horton in turning over the Greek and Latin writers" "It was not in his way," says Mark Pattison, "to sit down to read over all the Greek and Latin writers. He read with selection, and *meditated* what he read. His practice conformed to the principle he has himself laid down in the oft-quoted lines" (*Pan Regained*, iv. 322) —

"Who reads
Incessantly, and to his reading brings not
A spirit and judgment equal or superior,
Uncertain and unsettled still remains,
Deep versed in books, and shallow in himself."

7 Masque, also spelt *Mask* This was a favourite form of dramatic entertainment in the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth, and all through that of James I To celebrate a birthday or a marriage, a royal visit, the arrival of an ambassador, or the like, a mythological or allegorical piece was acted, together with songs and dances, and the preparation of such pageants had become a regular part of the dramatic profession The taste for them, however, was beginning to die out, when the Puritan hatred to the theatre, disclosed in Prynne's *Histriomastix* (1633), caused a sudden revival of interest in every form of dramatic amusement amongst the Cavalier party But, as Pattison has remarked, "it was a strange caprice of fortune that made the future poet of the Puritan epic the last composer of a Cavalier mask"

8 Comus, one of the principal characters of Milton's masque, whose name was given to the whole piece, apparently after the author's death The word is Greek for a "revel," or a "band of revellers," the personification of the Revel-god appears only in very late Greek literature, from which it was borrowed by some of Milton's predecessors, and amongst them Ben Jonson, see note below on *Circe*

• Presented, acted before an audience.

Ludlow, a town in Shropshire, where there was a castle, the official seat of the Lord President of Wales. This office involved military and civil jurisdiction over the English counties of Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford and Shropshire, as well as Wales, and had been instituted in the reign of Edward IV (1478), it was abolished in 1689.

10 The Earl of Bridgewater was John Egerton (born about 1579), whose family was one of the most accomplished amongst the English aristocracy of the time. Though nominated to the Presidency of Wales in 1631, the Earl did not proceed to Ludlow until 1633. He took no active part in the Civil War, and died in 1649.

11 Circe, a sorceress living in the enchanted island of *Æaea*, who is represented by Homer as turning several of the companions of Odysseus into swine. Milton makes Comus a son of Circe and Bacchus, and invests him with his mother's magical powers. In both cases the enchantment is overcome by means of a magic root. The poet may also have taken hints from Ben Jonson's masque of *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* (1619), in which Comus appears, a Latin piece called *Comus*, by a Dutchman, Puteanus (reprinted, 1634), Peele's comedy of *The Old Wives' Tale* (1595), and Fletcher's Pastoral of *The Faithful Shepherdess* (revived, 1633), possibly also from an actual adventure of the Earl's children. But the last is more than dubious (see Masson, *Poetical Works*, i. 160), and the total amount of his debt to the modern writers mentioned was probably very small.

13 A quo, etc., "from whom, as from an ever-flowing spring, the lips of poets are moistened with the Muses' waters." The quotation is from Ovid, *Amores*, iii. 9. 25.

16 Mr King Edward King had been one of the most popular men in Christ's College during Milton's residence there, and soon after taking his degree he was promoted over Milton's head to a Fellowship by royal order, in 1630. In August, 1637, King was proceeding to spend part of his vacation in Ireland, when the ship was wrecked off the Welsh coast, and almost all on board were drowned. A volume of memorial verses was prepared by King's Cambridge friends, containing twenty-three Latin and Greek pieces, and thirteen English, the last and longest of which was Milton's *Lycidas*.

18 Much a favourite. We should now say 'much of a favourite,' or rather, 'a great favourite.'

18 Wits, men of *wit*, in its original sense of 'understanding' or 'intellect', learned and scholarly men.

✓ 21 Tuscan poetry. Tuscany is a province of Italy, corresponding to the ancient Etruria. From the 13th century onwards, the Tuscan dialect (which was nearest akin to Latin) became the literary dialect of Italy, and can number amongst its writers the names of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Politian, Ariosto, Tasso, and many others.

Malignity to the Church. The verb to this subject is "may be discovered" again. Mark Pattison points out that here "Milton's

original picturesque vein is for the first time crossed with one of quite another sort, stern, determined, obscurely indicative of suppressed passion. The fanaticism of the Covenanter and the sad grace of Petrarch seem to meet in Milton's monody."

Some lines, those beginning—

"Last came, and last did go,
The pilot of the Galilean lake,"

i.e., St Peter, into whose mouth Milton puts a denunciation of the English clergy, who—

"for their bellies' sake
Creep and intrude, and climb into the fold,"

and ends with the threat, the exact meaning of which is much disputed—

"But that two-handed engine at the door
Stands ready to smite once and smite no more"

See *Lycidas*, 108-131

24 *Arcades*, or "The Arcadians" This was part of a Masque acted before the Countess Dowager of Derby, the stepmother of the Earl of Bridgewater already mentioned. There is thus a connection between the *Arcades* and the *Comus*, the former being the slighter and earlier. Hence Masson puts its composition in 1633 or 1634, though it was not printed until 1645.

26 Harefield, a charming estate, with a fine house, in Middlesex, about four miles from Uxbridge, and ten from Horton. The Miltons and Egertons were not close neighbours, therefore, and though such an acquaintance as Johnson speaks of was possible enough, we have no trustworthy evidence of it. On the other hand we know that Milton was intimate with Lawes, the musician employed by the Egerton family to compose the musical part of their entertainments, so that it is most natural to suppose that it was this connection with Lawes that led to Milton's writing *Arcades* and *Comus*.

27 Countess Dowager. A *countess* is the wife of an earl: but supposing the earl to die and to be succeeded by his next male heir, then, if the new earl is married, his wife becomes the countess, and the deceased earl's wife is called the Dowager Countess, by way of distinction. The lady referred to here was Alice Spencer, whose first husband became Earl of Derby in 1593, and died the next year. In 1600 his widow married Sir Thomas Egerton (afterwards Viscount Brackley), whose son by his first wife was made Earl of Bridgewater in 1617. In the same year Lord Brackley died, the Countess-dowager surviving him for twenty years. In her youth the poet Spenser had dedicated his *Tears of the Muses* to her; and in her old age Milton's *Arcades* was written in her honour.

30. Inns of Court, the buildings in which a number of barristers and law-students reside in London, known as the Inner Temple, the Middle Temple, Lincoln's Inn, and Gray's Inn. These four societies have the sole right of admitting persons to practise at the English Bar.

18 The first stanza " Raise me to the ether, O Chlo, for of stars I will weave a coronet No longer suffice the leaves of the fair-haired god, eternal on Pindus and on Helicon, for greater merit the honours must be greater, for celestial virtue the reward must be celestial "

19. Too diffuse on common topicks, treat of common subjects at too great length

The last "I, who on the banks of Arno try to declare thy high and illustrious merit, know that I labour in vain, and learn only to admire, not to praise it, therefore I restrain my tongue and listen to my heart, which undertakes to praise thee with its silent wonder "

21 Sienna, or Siena thirty or forty miles south of Florence, on the road then usually taken to Rome Milton probably reached Rome about the end of September, or beginning of October

23 Holstenius (the Latinised form of Holste or Holsten) was a learned German, who had been in Oxford and London from 1622 to 1625 in 1627 he accompanied Cardinal Barberini from Paris to Rome, and became librarian in the vatican, where " he was worth fifty other men, both as a keeper of the manuscripts, and as a collector of rare works " (Masson, *Life*, i 747) He died in 1661

Vatican, the name of a hill in Rome on which stand the immense buildings occupied by the popes, and adjoining St Peter's Besides the papal palace, the Vatican contains a celebrated museum and library

24 Cardinal Barberini Cardinal Francesco Barberini (born in 1597 of a Florentine family) was at that time the prime minister of Rome, and the chief adviser of his uncle, Pope Urban VIII He was a great patron of literary men

25 He, the Cardinal This incident is described by Milton in a letter of thanks to Lucas Holstenius, dated March 30th, 1639 (translated by Masson, *Life*, i 749, *seq*) Milton's words are "almost laying hold of me by the hand "

26 Selvaggi Of this person nothing seems to be known His couplet is translated by Masson, i 754—

" Greece may exult in her Homer, Rome may exult in her Maro,
England exults in one equalling either of these "

27 Distich, a stanza of two verses the Greek *di-stichon*, with two rows, or two verses Similarly a *tetrastich* (tetrastich) is one with four verses

Salsilli is identified by Masson (*Life*, i 754) with Giovanni Salzilli, a contributor to a volume of Italian poetry published in 1637. His tetrastich will be found in Masson he goes even further than Selvaggi, by making Milton equal to the three, Homer, Virgil, and Tasso

29 Commerce, *i. e.*, this exchange of literary productions

30 Not secure against, etc., though containing faults which a severe critic might censure

Turn the balance, etc., undoubtedly show Milton's superiority as a poet; thus the Italians drew from him better poetry than they gave, and so may be said to have gained by the "commerce"

The Latin poem which Milton addressed to Salsilli is translated by Masson, 1 755; the Italian seems to have been in bad health, which perhaps was the reason why we hear no more of him

33 Before his poems, *i. e.*, in front of them They were prefixed by Milton to his Latin poems, published in 1645, together with a Latin note in which he says that he was aware *non tam de se quam supra se esse dicta*, that they were said not so much about him, as above, or over, him, in short, that they were exaggerated

38 Count pictures, *i. e.*, pay a rapid visit to the endless picture-galleries for which Rome is famous

Page 7 1 Passed on, apparently in November, 1638 *Naples* was at that time part of the Spanish dominions in Italy

A hermit, "a certain Eremite Friar," as Milton calls him, of whom nothing more is known *Eremite* is the old spelling of *hermit*, a religious recluse

3 Manso Giovanni Battista Manso was born in 1561, and so was nearly eighty at the time of Milton's visit He had served with distinction as a soldier, but gained most fame as a patron of literature, and as the friend and protector of the poets Tasso and Marino. At Naples he was inferior only to the Spanish Viceroy in rank and influence See Masson, *Life*, 1 756-761

4 Tasso Torquato Tasso, one of the four greatest poets of Italy, was born near Naples in 1544 His chief work, the *Jerusalem Delivered*, was completed when he was thirty-one, and for the rest of his life he seems to have been semi-insane, sometimes wandering about Italy, sometimes in confinement He died in 1595

5 Sorry, poor and worthless. The distich is thus translated by Masson (*Poet Works*, 1 312)—

"Mind, form, grace, face and morals are perfect if but
thy creed were,
Then, not *Angelic* alone, truly *Angelic* thou'dst be "

8 Literature, learning, scholarship

This is a poem of a hundred hexameter lines, published amongst Milton's *Sylvae*, and translated by Masson in the *Life*, 1 765, *Poet Works*, 1 313

10 Differences, disputes Scotland was practically in open rebellion at this time, on religious grounds, and preparations for war were actually in progress Milton himself says that he considered it disgraceful that he should be travelling abroad at ease for intellectual purposes, while his fellow-countrymen were fighting at home for liberty. No doubt, the reports which reached him at Naples were much exaggerated, yet "Enough was true," says Masson, "to make his resolution to return a right one." But probably more correct information reached him on his way back, so that we find him lingering again at Rome, Florence, and Venice

14 Plots, etc "The merchants," says Milton, "warned me that they had learnt by letters that snares were being laid for me by the English Jesuits, if I should return to Rome, on the ground that I had spoken too freely concerning religion" The *Jesuits* are members of the religious order known as the Society of Jesus, and founded in 1540.

For the liberty, on account of the freedom Milton does not seem to have carried out Sir Henry Wotton's advice He did not, indeed (he tells us), introduce the subject of religion into conversation, but if he was asked about his views, he did not attempt to conceal them.

16 Kept on his way, continued his journey to Rome Masson (*Life*, i 769) quotes from contemporary writers to show that there was a real danger in acting as Milton did

17 Obtruding, thrusting it upon others

18 Galileo, the celebrated astronomer and inventor of the telescope, born at Pisa in 1564 For having adopted the Copernican theory of the solar system, he was condemned in 1616 for heresy, and compelled to retract the doctrine that the earth moved round the sun In 1632 he again incurred the displeasure of the Inquisition, and was imprisoned for a time at Rome, but from 1633 till his death in 1641 he was allowed to live under certain restrictions at a villa near Florence He was not, therefore, exactly a "prisoner in the Inquisition" when Milton visited him, though Johnson is only following Milton's own account in the *Areopagitica*—"There it was that I found and visited the famous Galileo, grown old, a prisoner to the Inquisition, for thinking in astronomy otherwise than the Franciscan and Dominican licensers thought" This visit, no doubt, suggested the well-known passage in *Paradise Lost*, i. 288—

"The moon, whose orb
Through optic glass the Tuscan artist views
At evening, from the top of Fesole
Or in Valdarno, to descry new lands,
Rivers, and mountains in her spotty globe"

19 The Inquisition, or Holy Office for inquiring into and punishing cases of heresy, was established by Pope Gregory IX in 1235.

For, on account of, on a charge of.

20. He was told, etc. "He excused himself to me," says Milton, "that though he wished excessively to have shown me much greater attention, he had not been able to do so in that city, because I would not be more close in the matter of religion."

26 Lucca, the town from which the family of his friend Diodati took their origin, about forty miles west of Florence. He spent only a few days there, but about two months at Florence. Venice was probably reached towards the end of April, 1639, and there he spent another month.

27 Sent away, etc. He shipped a number of books from here to England. His nephew, Philips, tells us that some of them were curious and rare, and that in particular there were one or two chests of choice music books of the best Italian masters.

28 Geneva, a city in Switzerland, which was then the centre of the Calvinistic form of Protestantism, and so would be a welcome change to the Puritan Milton after his experiences of Italy. His visit was paid in June, 1639.

29 Congenial element. The Calvinistic atmosphere was as congenial to him as the "element" of air is to a bird or that of water to a fish.

30 John Diodati (born 1576) was the uncle of Milton's friend, Charles. He was an eminent preacher and professor of Theology at Geneva, and translated the Bible into Italian.

Frederick Spanheim (1600-1649) was another well-known professor of Philosophy and Theology at Geneva.

32 Came home, in July or August, 1639.

33. Charles Diodati. See note to page 3, line 12. He had died in August, 1638, during Milton's first residence at Florence, but communications were then so imperfect that Milton only heard a vague report of the event (perhaps from John Diodati) whilst he was abroad. He speaks of his eagerness to see Diodati again and tell him of all his travels, so that the shock must have been terrible, when he learnt the truth. See Masson, *Works*, i. 319.

35 Intituled, the old spelling of *entitled*.

Epitaphium Damonis, the Epitaph on Damon, the latter (like Lycidas) being one of the regular names employed by the pastoral poets. This is a Latin hexameter poem of 219 lines, "beyond all question the finest, and deepest in feeling, of all that Milton has left us in Latin. It is purely the accident of its being in Latin that has prevented it from being as well known as *Lycidas*. Yet not *Lycidas*, but *Damon*, not the Irish-born Edward King, but the half-Italian Charles Diodati, was Milton's dearest, most intimate, most peculiar friend" (Masson, *Works*, i. 320, where also a translation is given).

36 Childish imitation, etc This is of a piece with Johnson's remarks on *Lycidas* (see page 42, and notes), but when Spenser and the old poets "spoke of themselves as shepherds and introduced the supposed circumstances of an Arcadian life, they only adopted a well-understood literary device, which, though its day is now gone by, had then the effect of floating off the imagination into a purely ideal element, and thus enabling the poet, while expressing feelings that were truly his own, to do so with added beauty" (Masson, *Life*, 11 83).

38 Taylor, an old-fashioned spelling of *taylor* St Bride's Churchyard was in the city of London, near Fleet-street and Saint Paul's Cathedral As in many other cases, the churchyard was no longer used for purposes of burial, but had been built upon

39 John and Edward Philips Compare page 2, line 4 The boys were at this time eight and nine years of age respectively their father had died in 1631, and their mother had married again

Page 8 1 Out of the world, i e , outside the fashionable world The tendency of fashionable society in London has always been to move from east to west, so that streets fashionable in one generation are given up to business or to a lower class of inhabitants in the next, their former class of occupants moving further westwards Aldersgate-street is further east than Milton's previous residence, and is now wholly given up to offices and shops, but Edward Philips describes it as being singularly free from noise in his time

3. Boarded, supplied with food and lodging

7 Vapours away, allows it to pass away in vapour, to evaporate As has already been remarked, Milton appears to have been misled by exaggerated rumours when on the Continent, and on his return to England, no doubt, found that he could help the Puritan cause better by his pen than by more active means, accordingly, we soon find him engaging in political controversy by means of pamphlets If at the same time he found educational work interesting, he scarcely deserves to be blamed for that Nor had he, as far as we know, made any "great promises," he never expresses any desire to enter either the parliament or the army

10 To a schoolmaster, i e , to the position of one Johnson had been a schoolmaster himself, and, though he disliked the occupation, saw nothing discreditable in it, the present passage is not aimed at Milton, therefore, but at those of his biographers who appeared to think that such work was more or less disgraceful to him, and therefore tried to disguise it as far as possible

12 One, i e , one of his biographers
For nothing, without pay

15 His father was alive, and therefore Milton had not yet inherited any property from him

16 His allowance, the money allowed to him annually by his father.

19 A formidable list, etc. This is given by Edward Philips, see Masson, *Life*, III. 253 Amongst them are many which, as Philips says, are "scarce ever heard of" in the ordinary public schools. He names Cato, Varro, Columella, Palladius, Pliny, Vitruvius, Frontinus, Lucretius, and Manilius, in Latin, Hesiod, Aratus, Dionysius Afer, Oppian, Quintus Calaber, Apollonius Rhodius, Plutarch, Geminus, Xenophon, Ælian, and Polyænus in Greek. Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, French and Italian were also studied, together with works on Arithmetic, Geometry, and Trigonometry On Milton's system Mark Pattison remarks that he "saw strongly, as many have done before and since, one weak point in the practice of schools, namely, the small result of much time. He fell into the natural error of the inexperienced teacher, that of supposing that the remedy was the ingestion of much and diversified matter It requires much observation of young minds to discover that the rapid inculcation of unassimilated information stupefies the faculties instead of training them" Johnson once remarked that education in England had been in danger of being hurt by two of its greatest men, Milton and Locke, adding that Milton's plan was impracticable (Boswell, III. 358). On the other hand, if we drop the externalities of the scheme, and look at the ideas which underlie it, they prove to be in singular accordance with the most modern views of education, see the Introduction to Prof Morris' edition of Milton's *Treatise of Education*.

30 The Georgick (from the Greek *ge-orgia*, agriculture) The Georgics of Virgil, a poem in four books on all sorts of agricultural pursuits, are mentioned by Milton in his educational scheme But probably Johnson means to include under this head all the extant treatises on agricultural subjects Of these Milton mentions the Greek Hesiod, and the Latin Cato, Varro, and Columella. Amongst the astronomical writers he names Aristotle, Aratus, Manilius, &c

32 Projectors, those who form schemes or projects, usually applied in a bad sense to the authors of chimerical or dishonest schemes

33 Cowley See note to page 2, line 23

34 What was wanting, etc, what was required by way of adding a polish to life Cowley had moved more than Milton in aristocratic society in England, and he had followed the Queen to Paris, where he filled an important post as secretary to the royalist Lord Jermyn. At the same time it would be difficult to improve upon Milton's definition of a complete education as "that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully and magnanimously, all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war"

35 His imaginary College Cowley published "A Proposition for the Advancement of Experimental Philosophy," recommending the establishment of what he calls "a philosophical college." Both Cowley and Milton wanted to make education more practical, to have less of "that dreary toiling amongst obsolete subtleties," see Masson's account of Milton's Tract on Education, *Life*, III. 240-250

36 The truth is, etc Masson calls the criticism which follows "an egregious misrepresentation of Milton's project, which included

all that Johnson wanted to have included The introduction of Natural Science into schools was only a portion of Milton's project, and with respect to this portion, subsequent opinion has more and more pronounced for Milton and against Johnson. The fairer criticism now would be as to the *mode* in which Milton proposed to teach Science and knowledge generally . For Science has now burst all bounds of Latin and Greek" (*Life*, in 251, 252) Herbert Spencer, again, utters the opinion of many modern educationalists when he says that "to the question, what knowledge is of most worth, the uniform reply is, Science . . It is of incalculable importance for the regulation of their conduct that men should understand the science of life, physical, mental, and social, and that they should understand all other science as a key to the science of life "

Page 9 2. Prove by events, prove that certain opinions are reasonable by showing the results to which the observance or neglect of them have respectively led

6 At leisure, such as we pursue when we have leisure

Physiological learning, the knowledge of physical science *Physiology* is now used, in a narrower sense, of the science which deals with the processes characteristic of living organisms.

7. Of such rare emergence, so seldom comes to the surface, *z e* , so seldom requires to be displayed

9 Hydrostatics, the science of statics as applied to the pressure and equilibrium of water and other liquids

Prudential character, the degree of prudence which he displays in the ordinary business of life

12 Axioms, established principles The word is especially applied to principles which are regarded as self-evident and incapable of demonstration, but it is also used in a wider sense, as here.

14 Poets, etc Milton divides his curriculum into four stages, the first two of which are devoted to the acquisition of Latin, Greek, and the useful sciences and arts, whilst the remaining two embrace ethics, economics, politics, jurisprudence, theology, history, logic, rhetoric, and the higher branches of literature, so that there does not seem much cause for Johnson's complaint on this score

15 Pedantick, making an ostentatious display of learning. The substantive *pedant* originally meant no more than 'school-master' (Italian *pedante*); but there is often only too much reason for its secondary application

16 Paradoxical (from the Greek *para*, contrary to, *doxa*, an opinion), that which is opposed to common opinion or to common sense.

✓ Socrates, the celebrated Athenian philosopher (put to death, B C 399). Disgusted with the contradictory and fruitless speculations of his predecessors, he rejected the pursuit of natural science, and confined himself to ethical enquiries and the study of Man, or (as Cicero expresses it) he "brought down philosophy from heaven to earth " He was, in fact, the first to enunciate the principle made famous by Pope—"the proper study of mankind is man "

21 Socrates was, etc. All this is based on Xenophon's *Memorabilia of Socrates*, 1 1 Johnson proceeds to quote a Greek line (the suppression of which has been necessitated by the exigencies of Indian printing), taken from Homer, *Odyssey*, iv 392, and meaning, "Whatever good or evil has happened in thy house." This seems to have been a favourite quotation with Socrates.

24 Wonder-working, intended to produce such wonderful results. "Is it fanciful to think that in Edward Philips, who was always employing his superficial pen upon topics with which he snatched a fugitive acquaintance, we have a concrete example of the natural result of the Miltonic system of instruction?" (Pattison)

25 Its only genuine product This may mean that Johnson was not acquainted with Philips' other works, or that he doubted their authenticity. He is supposed to be referring here to a Tract on the Dramatic Poetry of the Ancients (1670), his knowledge of which was derived (according to Cunningham) from Warton's Essay on Pope, but Philips also published a *Theatrum Poetarum*, or Complete Collection of the Poets, in *English*, as well as many other books. His brother John, also, was the author of a number of works, but chiefly of the licentious and objectionable nature characteristic of the Restoration literature. This sort of work must have been extremely distasteful to Milton, and there was probably little intercourse between him and John, but Edward led a more respectable life, and seems to have been in constant communication with his famous uncle until the latter's death.

33 The Dutch universities Philips mentions in particular "Amesius," *z e*, William Ames (1576-1633), an English Puritan who became minister to an English congregation at the Hague in Holland, then a professor at the University of Franeker, and then a minister at Rotterdam, and "Wollebius," or Wolleb, a Swiss theologian (1536-1626) "The Sunday's work," he says, "was for the most part the reading a chapter of the Greek Testament, and hearing his learned exposition upon the same, and after this the writing from his own dictation of a Tractate, which he thought fit to collect from the ablest of divines."

34 Spare diet, a frugal or scanty supply of food. The whole sentence is taken from Edward Philips' account of his uncle; he adds that "once in three weeks or a month he would drop into the society of some young sparks of his acquaintance, whereof were Mr. Alphry and Mr. Miller, two gentlemen of Gray's Inn, the beaux of those times. With these gentlemen he would so far make bold with his body as now and then to keep a gaudy-day," *z e*, a gay or merry day, a holiday.

36. Gray's Inn, one of the Inns of Court, see note to page 5, line 30

39. A treatise, entitled "Of Reformation touching Church Discipline in England, and the Causes that hitherto have hindered it." The author's name was not attached to the work.

41 Prelates, literally, those placed in front (Latin *prae-latus*), or in authority; hence applied to the higher clergy, the bishops and archbishops.

Johnson appears to be thinking of a passage in Milton's fifth pamphlet, commonly called the *Apology for Smectymnuus*, at the beginning of which he explains that his friends, the authors of *Smectymnuus*, were quite able to defend themselves with solid arguments, but neglected the "sharp taunts, quips, and snapping adages" which were discharged against them, and which he was disposed to retaliate, in order to cure their opponents of the idea "that all who are not prelatical are gross-headed, thick-witted, illiterate, shallow" "Can nothing but Episcopacy," he asks, "teach men to speak good English, to pick and order a set of words judiciously?"

Page 10 1 Hall Joseph Hall (1574-1656), once Bishop of Exeter and then of Norwich, published in January, 1641, a "Humble Remonstrance to the High Court of Parliament," defending the liturgy of the English Church and the system of Episcopal government, *i e.*, government by bishops (Greek *episkopos*, an overseer, a bishop), for which many of the Puritans wished to substitute the *Presbyterian* system, or government by elected *elders* (Greek *presbyteros*, elder)

2 Six ministers. There were really only five, namely, Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young (Milton's first tutor), Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow This pamphlet (which had a title too long to quote) was published in March, 1641, and "is on the whole a rather heavy and leathery performance, about five times as long as Hall's *Humble Remonstrance*" (Masson, *Life*, 11 220)

5 Usher James Usher (1581-1656), "the most learned churchman of the age," had been Professor of Divinity at Dublin, then Bishop of Meath, and was now Archbishop of Armagh The pamphlet here referred to was published in May, 1641, and was called "The Judgment of Doctor Rainoldes touching the original of Episcopacy more largely confirmed out of Antiquity, by James, Archbishop of Armagh" *Rainoldes*, or Reynolds, was an Oxford theologian of Puritan sympathies, who published his views on Episcopacy in 1584

6 May, can Deduced, etc, traced down from the times of the Apostles, who carried on Christ's work after his death

8 Alledged, quoted, cited, a sense of the word (now spelt without the *d* in the middle) which has almost gone out of use. Milton elsewhere speaks of "alledging Moses," *i e.*, quoting the authority of Moses

9 Goes under the name of, as if it were quite unworthy of the reputation of a man in Usher's position This is the "contemptuous mention" referred to by Johnson below

12 Savageness of manners Milton's pamphlet was published anonymously, probably in June or July, 1641, and is written with "the rude wantonness of untempered youth" (Pattison) Usher and Hall were both men of moderate and liberal views, but Milton in his attacks on them displays nothing but the most narrow-minded and

fanatical form of Puritanism Thus, at the close of his first pamphlet (on Reformation), he prays that his opponents may have "a shameful end in this life," and then "be thrown down eternally into the darkest and deepest gulf of Hell, where, under the spiteful control, the trample and spurn of all the other damned, that in the anguish of their torture shall have no other ease than to exercise a raving and bestial tyranny over them as their slaves, they shall remain in that plight for ever, the basest, the lowermost, the most dejected, most underfoot and downtrodden vassals of perdition."

Next work,⁷ Johnson omits one pamphlet see note on line 27 below

The Reason, etc This was probably published in January or February, 1642, and was the first of these pamphlets to which Milton attached his name "By the title Milton means what in modern language would be called, 'The Theory of Church Government,' and his pamphlet is, in fact, a treatise on the relations between Church and State" (Masson, *Life*, ii 363) The form of Church Government which he at this time desired to substitute for prelacy seems to have been a kind of Scotch Presbyterianism

14. Discovers, discloses, allows to be seen Johnson is alluding to the autobiographical passages at the beginning of Book 11. of the pamphlet already quoted from on pages 4, 6.

18 But, except

19. Utterance, powers of speaking.

Seraphim, a Hebrew plural (from which has been formed the English singular *seraph*), denoting a class of celestial beings, usually identified with the *angels*, and so used here by Milton, but the Hebrew word is probably connected with a root meaning "to burn," and originally denoted serpents with a fiery bite, being transferred from this to a symbolical use in connection with the celestial visions of the prophet Isaiah

The whole passage refers to a well-known Scriptural passage, *Isaiah*, vi 1-7 — "I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple. Above it stood the seraphim: each one had six wings; with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet; and with twain he did fly. Then said I, Woe is me! for I am undone, because I am a man of unclean lips. Then flew one of the seraphim unto me, having a live coal in his hand, which he had taken with the tongs from off the altar, and he laid it upon my mouth, and said, Lo, this hath touched thy lips, and thine iniquity is taken away, and thy sin purged."

20. Of whom We should now say 'of those whom.' He sends his angel-messengers to purify those whom he chooses to be his spokesmen on earth, and to give them all needful powers of utterance.

23 Compast, or compassed, literally, gone round about, and so, completed. Until this course of reading and observation has been

completed, Milton will continue to sustain the hope that it will finally enable him to produce some work that may be of use and honour to his country, or, in other words, he will not abandon the hope, unless, on completing the course he has planned for himself, he finds it useless after all. "Before the pitey of this vow," is Pattison's comment, "Johnson's morosity yields for a moment."

27. Two more pamphlets The Smectymnuan pamphlet had been published in March, 1641, in April Bishop Hall replied with "A Defence of the Humble Remonstrance," to which the Smectymnuans replied by another pamphlet at the end of June. Immediately afterwards Milton published (anonymously) "Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence against Smectymnuus," a violent and scurrilous attack upon Hall. This was the third of Milton's pamphlets upon the Church question. The fourth was the "Reason of Church Government" already mentioned by Johnson, published at the beginning of 1642. Then about February Hall and his son attacked Milton in "A Modest Confutation of a Slandrous and Scurrilous Libel entitled *Animadversions*," etc., to which Milton replied in March or April with his fifth pamphlet, "An Apology against a Pamphlet called *A Modest Confutation*," etc., commonly quoted as "An Apology for Smectymnuus."

28. One of his antagonists, Bishop Hall, or his son, Robert Hall, who had been about two years senior to Milton at Cambridge. The scurrilous passage referred to is given by Masson, *Life*, ii. 390 — "Thus being grown to an imposthume in the breast of the University, he was at length vomited out thence into a suburb sink about London, which, since his coming up, hath groaned under two ills—him and the Plague," etc. Milton calls this a "commodious lie," *commodious* (or convenient) because it enables him to acknowledge the favour and respect which he had received from the Fellows of his College and others.

30. Parting, departure from them.

33. The common approbation, etc., the approval or disapproval of the bulk of the members of the University, as distinguished from the Fellows of his College (who were likely to know him best).

35. Simple, foolish Answerer, the writer of the answer to Milton's *Animadversions*.

Think to obtain with me, thinks that he can get the better of me in this controversy, by quoting the "common dislike" in which I was held at Cambridge.

Of small practice, etc. That physician would show himself to have had but little experience, who, etc. Throughout the passage Milton retains the somewhat coarse metaphor suggested by the Halls' expression *vomited out*.

36. She and her sister, the University of Cambridge, and that of Oxford. A man can have but little knowledge and experience if he cannot see that the Universities constantly get rid of their best members whilst they retain the worst.

38 Kecking at. To *heck* is an old word for retching, trying to vomit Queasy, feeling sick, inclined to vomit

39. She vomits now, etc. This "queasiness" is due to ill-health, & c, the University cannot remain on good terms with its best members because it is in an unhealthy condition to cure this, strong remedies must be applied, and these Milton compares to a powerful emetic, the first effect of which is to make the patient vomit, though ultimately it restores him to health As he has just said, "she keeps the worser stuff in her stomach," and it will be necessary to get rid of this poisonous matter, before she can be brought back to health.

40 Physick, medicine.

41 In the time, etc, even when her condition was better than it is now, and when my judgment was less mature.

"Most University men," remarks Masson (1. 237), "look back with affection to their Alma Mater; and it is becoming that they should. There have been men of eminence, however, who having, during the process of their education, been old enough or serious enough to note its defects, have kept the account open, and setting aside pleasant reminiscences as irrelevant, have sued for the balance as a just debt during all the rest of their lives Wordsworth would not own much filial respect for Cambridge. It was the same with Milton before him "

Page 11 4 Incontinence, an unchaste life, owing to the coarse language he used in his pamphlets "I was confirmed in this opinion," says Milton, "that he who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought himself to be a true poem, that is, a composition and pattern of the best and honourablest things," or in other words, he always held that moral integrity and purity were absolutely necessary to a life of truly great work, see Masson, *Life*, 1 282-285, 11 403, 404 It was on this occasion that he denounced the dramatic performances at the University, compare page 4.

9. Digression, section 11 of the *Apology*, where he refers to the frequent use of somewhat coarse expressions in the Bible, and by such eminent men as Luther.

10. Chaplain in hand. It is usual for a bishop to have a clergyman to assist him in various ways, as private, or "domestic," chaplain *In hand* probably means 'completely under the control of his master,' since the words are coupled with "squire of the body," and the position of a chaplain in the household of a nobleman or other great person was little better than that of a superior servant.

Squire of the body, a personal attendant, or body-servant.

11 Altar, the name given to a kind of table, of wood or stone, which is used in a Christian church Hence, "to serve at the altar" means to take part in the services of the Church.

Court-cupboard, an old name for a movable sideboard, on which on great occasions silver dishes, cups, *etc.*, were displayed during a meal. Compare Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, 1 5 8, "Away with the joint-stools, remove the court-cupboard, look to the plate."

This sentence is intended to amplify the last, the chaplain assisting his bishop at the altar, whilst the body-servant waits on his master at meals.

12 He will bestow, *etc.* "He is determined to give us an outline of his capacities and acquirements" (Deighton), *model* here standing for the representation of some large object on a small scale for convenience of examination.

Sets me out, sets forth for my benefit, the use of the "ethical" dative *me* lending a contemptuous tone to the statement.

13 Ptsical, weakly, feeble, literally, consumptive, the word being a corruption (for the sake of easier pronunciation) of *phthisical*, from the Greek *phthisis*, the name of the wasting lung-disease known as "consumption." Milton's own spelling of the word is "tizzical," he means by it to indicate his contempt for the short-sentence style of composition. His own periods, on the other hand, are often far too long and involved, and such as no one probably could follow at the first hearing.

Mottos, maxims, brief statements of practical truths.

Wherever he had them. This is a scornful parenthesis, implying that "where he got them from, nobody knows." *Had* is used in the sense of 'obtained, got possession of.'

Hopping short, *etc.*, making a spring which falls short of its object (fails to reach the object aimed at), just as a man suffering from convulsive fits may be jerked in this direction and that, without making any definite advance in the direction he desires. In the measure, after the manner of, Deighton thinks there is also a sarcastic reference to the use of the word for a stately dance.

14 Labour, the effort of childbirth, the metaphor being changed from a person in convulsions to a woman in travail.

15 Scaped, escaped. In the effort to give birth to his ideas, after a painful struggle (*agony*) his intellect almost perishes (*narrowly escapes*), the result being that the offspring is not healthy and "well-sized," but mean and inadequate, mere "thumbing posies."

Well-sized, fully-formed, well-developed. Periods, complete sentences, skilfully built up. The period has been defined by Mark Pattison as carrying with it, "over and above its direct predication, all the conditions and exceptions to which the writer wishes to submit that predication, all woven into one structure." Such periods are characteristic of the style of Cicero, who has always been the favourite model for Latin prose composition, and Milton's great familiarity with Latin led him to imitate this complicated structure in the English sentence also.

16 Thumbring, a ring worn upon the thumb, according to a former custom. Compare Shakespeare, *1. Henry IV.*, ii 4. 365, where Falstaff says that in his youth he was thin enough to have "crept into any alderman's thumbring "

Posies, mottos engraved on rings and other articles; these would naturally be short and (usually) commonplace, and such, says Milton, are all the results of Hall's wit. The word *posy* is a contraction of *poesy*, i.e., poetry hence, when it became the fashion to engrave short poetical mottos on rings, knives, etc., such a motto was called a *posy*. Thus we have in Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, v 148 —

" A paltry ring
That she did give me, whose posy was
For all the world like cutler's poetry
Upon a knife, *Love me and leave me not* "

As such inscriptions had to be brief, any short inscription or motto came to be called a *posy*, even though not expressed in verse. Lastly, such a sentiment was sometimes expressed symbolically by certain flowers, so that the name *posy* was transferred to a small bouquet or nosegay of flowers, and this is its usual meaning at the present day

This section, viz., of Hall's pamphlet But the word *section* also means "a cutting," and suggests to Milton *dissection*, his opponent has really been dissecting himself, and laying bare his own incompetence

19 Hell, etc Taken from Milton's description of the encounter between Satan and Death, *Paradise Lost*, ii 719—

" So frown'd the mighty combatants, that Hell
Grew darker at their frown "

Hell has already (i 63) been described as containing "no light, but rather darkness visible "

20 After Reading, etc Reading (in Berkshire) was taken by the Parliamentarian army under Lord Essex after a twelve days' siege, April 15-27, 1643 Milton's father, and his brother Christopher, together with the latter's young wife and child, had moved from Horton to Reading in 1640 or 1641 The town was surrendered on favourable terms, and old Mr Milton moved to his son John's house in London

21. Whirsuntide. *Tide* meaning 'time' or 'season,' *Whitsuntide* is the season of Whitsunday, the seventh Sunday after Easter, and one of the principal Christian festivals. In Skeat's opinion the name was originally *White Sunday*, perhaps from the white clothes used in certain ceremonies at that season In the year 1643 this Sunday fell on May 21st

22 Justice of the Peace, an influential person appointed as a Magistrate (unpaid) to see that law and order are maintained in the district to which he belongs.

Mr Richard Powell lived at Forest-hill, near Shotover Forest, and close to Oxford, where the king at that time had his Court and army. It was, therefore, an extraordinary neighbourhood for Milton to venture into, but perhaps his visit was in some way connected with a debt of £500 which Mr Powell had long owed to the Milton family. Whether Milton had been previously acquainted with Mary Powell is not known, but such evidence as there is seems to support the view that the marriage was a hasty affair, soon repented of by both parties. The whole thing, however, seems to have been rather mysterious even to Milton's nephews, Philips briefly informing us that "he took a journey into the country, nobody about him certainly knowing the reason, or that it was any more than a journey of recreation. After a month's stay, home he returns a married man that went out a bachelor." Mary was about seventeen at the time, and was to have brought her husband a marriage-portion of £1,000, but the Powells were never in a position to pay the money.

23 To town, to London, for which "town" is a common name

25 Spare diet, etc. Compare page 9, line 34

28 Joviality, merriment, gaiety. *Jovial* is, literally, that which is influenced by the planet Jupiter, compare the adjectives *mercurial*, *marital*, *saturnine*, all similar relics of astrological beliefs.

An inventory of the Pewells furniture has been preserved, from which it appears that they must have had a large and well-furnished house.

29 Made earnest suit, earnestly begged, *suit* being the act of *suing*, or petitioning.

31 Michaelmas, the day consecrated to Saint Michael, September 29th. The termination is similar to that in *Christmas*, and is really the word *mass*, the name of a religious service.

33 Lady Margaret Leigh, or Ley, daughter of James Ley, who was made Chief Justice and Lord High Treasurer by James I, and Earl of Marlborough and Lord President of the Council by Charles I. He died in 1629. His daughter, Margaret, had married a Captain Hobson, a Parliamentarian, Milton addresses her in his tenth Sonnet, written in 1644 or 1645, and Philips speaks of her as "a woman of great wit and ingenuity, who had a particular honour for Milton, and took much delight in his company, as likewise her husband, a very accomplished gentleman."

35 The lady, Milton's wife. The account which follows is taken from Edward Philips.

38 The same success, meaning, the same *want* of success, or *ill-success*.

39 Miscarry, fail to reach their destination. Milton's wife might excuse herself by asserting that the letters never reached her, especially as it was a time of war, and London and Oxford were the respective head-quarters of the rival parties. In fact, communication between the two had been forbidden by both sides.

41 Cavaliers, attached to the Royalist party At that time the Royalists were on the whole prospering, and the Powells may have regretted the haste with which they had allowed Mary to marry a Roundhead

Page 12. 3 Repudiate, to put away his wife, cast her off

4. To justify inclination, to make the course of action to which he was inclined appear the right one.

5 In 1644. The first of these tracts was really published as early as August 1st, 1643, or two months before the Michaelmas-day on which Philips says Milton's wife was to have returned Either, therefore, Philips is wrong in his dates all through his account of the marriage, or else he is wrong in attributing the origin of Milton's speculations about divorce to his wife's refusal to return to him If Philips' dates are right, then Milton was composing a "vehement and impassioned argument in favour of divorce for incompatibility of temper" during the first month or two of his marriage, whilst his wife was still with him He may have made what Masson calls "a deadly discovery of his wife's utter unfitness for him," or, according to another suggestion, founded on a passage in his pamphlet, his wife may have refused him the consummation of the marriage, in which case the pamphlet "however imprudent, becomes pardonable." See Pattison's *Milton*, 58. Masson, *Life*, iii 34-47 However, the main point to which Milton addresses himself is, that total incompatibility of temper on the part of husband and wife is as legitimate a cause for divorce as any recognised at the time but he says nothing about *desertion* A second and enlarged edition of the pamphlet was published in February, 1644

6 The Judgment, etc This was published in July, 1644 *Martin Bucer* was a German who came over to England in 1549, and was made (by Edward VI) professor of Divinity at Cambridge, where he died in 1551. He addressed a Latin work *On the Kingdom of Christ* to King Edward, and in this Milton found a treatment of Divorce very similar to his own Accordingly he translated part of Bucer's treatise into English, and published it with some additional remarks, to show that he was not singular in his views

7. Tetrachordon. This was published in March, 1645, and is referred to in Milton's eleventh and twelfth Sonnets The name is Greek for "four-stringed," the reference being to the *four* passages of Scripture which Milton discusses, *Gen.* i 27-28, *Deuteronomy*, iv. 1, 2, *Matthew*, v 31, 32, 1 *Corinthians*, vii 10-16.

9 This innovation, i e, Milton's new doctrine of divorce for *mental* incompatibility His "conclusion was that the notion of the indissolubility of marriage, or even the modified law of England authorising divorce only for certain gross reasons, were mere relics of superstitious tradition, unworthy of more enlarged views of justice and liberty" (Masson, iii 48)

10. Their famous assembly. Parliament, having abolished Episcopacy, had called together an assembly of Puritan clergymen and

laymen to organise a new system of Church government and forms of worship This Assembly met at Westminster on July 1st, 1643, and from that time held frequent sittings until February, 1649

12 Wood, Anthony Wood (or à Wood), a celebrated antiquary, who wrote on the history of the University of Oxford, and its most famous members He died in 1695 The present quotation is from his *Fast Oxonienses*, Milton having been incorporated M.A. at Oxford in 1635

13 Dismiss, let him go Milton does not seem even to have been taken into custody, or called on to defend himself These two attacks were made nominally by the Stationer's Company, on the ground that his pamphlets had been printed without the necessary licence, but no doubt some of the Presbyterian clergy were the real instigators see Masson, *Life*, iii 273-275, 293-297

Milton published in 1645 a fourth pamphlet on Divorce, called *Colasterion* (or "punishment"), a Reply to a Nameless Answer against *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* "It is impossible now to imagine adequately the commotion caused in the religious world by Milton's four Pamphlets He was denounced as a heretic of the worst kind, the promulgator of a doctrine that would corrupt public morals and sap the very foundations of society. The Presbyterian divines, in particular, were violent in their attacks upon him There were men in Parliament, however, who knew him, and though his Divorce doctrine shocked many of the Independents as well as the Presbyterians, the general feeling among the Independents was, that it ought to be regarded in his case only as the eccentric speculation of a very able and noble man" (Masson, *Works*, i 24)

14 There seems, etc Masson (iii 298) mentions four publications aimed at Milton's first two pamphlets To these he replied in his *Tetrachordon* and *Colasterion*

15 The antagonist, the anonymous author of the "Answer against *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*"

15 A Serving-man, etc, a mere servant who had had the presumption to discuss questions of law as if he had been a solicitor. The pamphlet is written in Milton's most violent and abusive style

Howel James Howell (died 1666) was Clerk to the Privy Council under Charles I, and Historiographer Royal to Charles II He wrote accounts of his travels, and a number of other works The passage in his letters to which Johnson refers occurs in Book iv. 7—"That opinion of a poor shallow-brained puppy, who upon any cause of disaffection would have men to have a privilege to change their wives, deserves to be hissed at rather than confuted."

18 He, Milton

19. Two sonnets, sonnets xi and xii, headed "On the Detraction which followed upon my writing certain Treatises"

21 From this time, etc. But the Divorce question was not the only one on which he differed from the Presbyterians "He had by a natural course of events been led to repudiate utterly the Presbyterians, the Scots, and their principles, and to regard them as narrow-minded men, enemies to English freedom" (Masson, *Works*, i 25) What Milton wanted was liberty, but he found that the Presbyterian party was as intolerant and narrow as that of the High Church Bishops. Consequently he attached himself to the party known as Independents, of whom Cromwell was coming to be regarded as the leader. His feelings on the subject are expressed in the Sonnet *On the New Forcers of Conscience under the Long Parliament*, which ends with the well-known words, "New *Presbyter* is but old *Priest* writ large"

23 By his humour, according to the state of mind in which he happens to be. This is by no means a fair criticism of Milton's action, as will be seen from the note above, to which may be added a few remarks from Macaulay—"Thousands raised their voices against Ship-money and the Star-chamber. But there were few indeed who discerned the more fearful evils of moral and intellectual slavery, and the benefits which would result from the liberty of the press and the unfettered exercise of private judgment. These were the objects which Milton justly conceived to be the most important For these he joined the Presbyterians, for these he forsook them. He fought their perilous battle, but he turned away with disdain from their insolent triumph."

24 By his interest, for the sake of his personal profit

28. Doctor Davis. Nothing is known of him, but his daughter is described by Philips as "a very handsome and witty gentlewoman," though averse to Milton's scheme of taking her in place of his wife.

29 Endeavour. We should now say "endeavour to *bring about*, or *effect*, a re-union," the use of *endeavour* with a direct object having become obsolete. Compare *Paradise Lost*, xii 354,5—

"Men who attend the altar and should most
Endeavour peace"

31. The lane, etc. This was close to Milton's home in Aldersgate-street, and is now the site of the General Post Office

35 Perseverance. "We should now rather say *persistence*, *perseverance* being more generally used of praiseworthy effort" (Deighton.)

37 Act of oblivion (literally, of forgetfulness), properly, an Act passed by Parliament, as at the time of the Restoration, providing for a general pardon for all political offenders. Here, of course, Philips uses the expression metaphorically.

This reconciliation took place in July or August, 1645, when his wife had been absent for two years. It is generally supposed that Milton had it in mind when writing *Paradise Lost*, x 936-946—

" She ended, weeping , and her lowly plight,
 Immovable till peace obtained from fault
 Acknowledged and deplored, in Adam wrought
 Commiseration Soon his heart relented
 Towards her, his life so late, and sole delight,
 Now at his feet submissive in distress—
 Creature so fair his reconciliation seeking,
 His counsel whom she had displeased, his aid
 As one disarmed, his anger all he lost,
 And thus with peaceful words upraised her soon

38. It were injurious, it would be unfair to Milton

Received her father, etc On June 24, 1646, Oxford surrendered to Cromwell's army, and the Royalists who had been shut up there were allowed to disperse under certain conditions Amongst them was Mr Richard Powell, who had lost his property and incurred heavy debts during the war Accordingly he and his wife, with several of their family, took refuge with Milton in London

41. *Areopagitica*, published in November, 1644 In the general up-heaval of the nation against the royal authority, there had for a time been a break-down of the former laws regulating *the liberty of the Press*, and not one of Milton's anti-Episcopal pamphlets had been licensed or registered But on June 14, 1643, the Parliament issued an *Ordinance for Printing*, which re-established the old censorship over publications This was one of the points in which Milton regarded the new Presbyterian rule as being as tyrannical as that of the Crown and Bishops, and though he obtained the licence for his Tract on Education and for the *Judgment of Martin Bucer*, his three other Divorce tracts were unlicensed and unregistered So also was his *Areopagitica*, an attack on the whole system of censorship, in the form of a speech addressed to Parliament This is now 'by far the best known of Milton's pamphlets, and indeed the only one of his prose works generally read Though the doctrine of the Treatise is now axiomatic, yet the battle for it had then to be fought, and Milton was the first and greatest to fight it It is perhaps the most skilful of all Milton's prose-writings, the most equable and sustained, and the fittest to leave one glowing sensation of the power of the author's genius" (Masson, *Life*, iii 278) Pattison's comment, however, is that it shows "no attempt to ascertain general principles," and though it is "a noble and heart-stirring comment on his text, the problem for the legislator remains where it was The vagueness and confusion of the thoughts find a vehicle in language which is too often overcrowded and obscure "

The title was suggested by the *Areopagiticus* (355 B C) of the Athenian orator, Isocrates, which professed to be a speech addressed to the Areopagus, a council meeting on the *Aios pagos* ("hill of Ares") at Athens, and possessing a general power of supervision over social, religious, and moral questions Milton appears to use it as an equivalent of our Parliament

Page 13 3 Hitherto unable to solve At the present day a solution has been arrived at which seems to work fairly well, namely,

to put no restrictions on the publication of anything, so long as it is not absolutely indecent in England, indeed, a censorship of plays is still retained, but it is to a great extent merely nominal. Milton, it should be noticed, was in favour of suppressing "mischievous and libellous books," as well as "Popery and open superstition."

5 Power, etc., the definition of what is true and fit to be published will depend on the views and interests of the party in power at the time

7. Settlement, settled government.

9 The remedy, i.e., the supposed remedy which has hitherto been usually adopted, but which, as Johnson goes on to point out, is not a very satisfactory one, for "though it may crush the author, it promotes the book"

10 Allowed, admitted.

13 Promotes the book, draws greater attention to the book, and so increases its sale This was exemplified in the case of Milton himself, the fame of his first *Defence of the English People* (1651) being greatly promoted in France by the public burning of the book by the hangman at Paris and Toulouse.

16 Hang a thief The number of offences punishable with death was something enormous in England in the 18th century, amongst them was the theft of property worth more than twelve pence

17 Engagements, matters which engaged his attention

Civil, affecting society in general

18 A Collection, etc. This was published in January, 1646 (or according to the old style of reckoning, 1645), and contained all the poems he had hitherto written, except that *On the Death of a Fair Infant*, and that entitled *At a Vacation Exercise* The *Allegro* (the "cheerful man") and the *Penseroso* (the "pensive man") were probably written at Horton about 1632, prior to the *Arcades* and *Comus*.

21. Barbican, a street running at right angles to Aldersgate-street, and only two or three minutes' walk from Milton's previous residence It is a dingy enough street now, but then contained at least one fashionable residence, that of the Earl of Bridgewater. It was about September, 1645, that Milton moved into this house, which was demolished some years ago during the construction of a railway The name *Barbican* is derived from a Low Latin word *barbacana*, meaning an outer defence to a fort.

24. They went away Old Mr Powell died in January, 1647, and old Mr Milton in the following March Soon after this the rest of the Powells seem to have left the house

25 The Muses, in Greek mythology, nine goddesses who presided over poetry and other branches of literature and art Hence a *Museum*, or temple of the muses, was originally a place where literary and artistic works were preserved, and where they could be examined and discussed.

Accession, the act of *acceding*, or coming forward to join a party of any kind, hence used for an 'addition,' or 'increase'

28 Pedagogue, a teacher or schoolmaster derived from the Greek *paid-agogos*, literally 'boy-leader,' a slave who accompanied a boy to school, but subsequently applied also to the teacher

29 Fry, properly, newly-hatched fish, hence applied contemptuously to small and insignificant objects, especially young children.

It may be noticed, in passing, that Milton's scheme of education, as set forth in his Tractate on the subject, is apparently intended only for one sex and one class—the sons of gentlemen

33 Savoured of, literally, had a smell or taste of, hence, partook of the nature of For *pedantry*, see note to page 9, line 15

34 Extenuate, literally, to make thin, hence, to weaken the force of, to excuse or palliate With the present passage compare page 8, lines 8-15.

37. Found, discovered, learnt

Shift, have recourse to shifts, or contrivances for evading the plain truth *Palliate*, literally, to cover with a *pall*, or cloak: hence, to cover up and conceal something by excuses and apologies.

The next two sentences are intended to show what their shifts and excuses amount to

38 Did not sell literature, etc, i.e., did not keep a public school, *literature* being used for 'learning,' as we have had it previously

39 Chamber-millner, one who carries on the business of a milliner in a private room, and not in an open shop (cp. 'chamber-practice,' page 1, line 26) A *milliner* is a person who deals in small articles like hats, bonnets, etc, especially those intended for women, and is now usually a woman, but the word is said to be a corruption of *milaner*, a man who dealt in goods imported from *Milan*, in the north of Italy

Commodities, goods intended for sale The word *measured* is intended to carry on the figure of the milliner

Page 14. 1. Has a mind to, wishes to

3 Adjutant-general Adjutant is derived from the Latin *adjutare*, to assist hence the 'adjutant' of a regiment is an officer who assists the commander of the regiment in various details and the 'adjutant-general' is an officer attached to the staff of the Commander-in-chief who receives reports and issues orders through him Thus the Adjutant-general of a whole army "ought to be about the most experienced man in it" (Masson), and that there should have been any idea of suddenly raising a civilian like Milton to such a post seems incredible

Sir William Waller (1597-1668), a member of the Long Parliament and one of the principal Parliamentary generals His early

successes gained him the name of "William the Conqueror," but in July, 1643, he suffered some serious disasters in the West of England. He failed again in 1644, and in 1645, under the Self-denying Ordinance, was removed from his command, though he subsequently served under Cromwell.

4. The new modelling, etc. The disasters of the Parliamentary forces, commanded by Waller and the Earls of Essex and Manchester, led Cromwell and his friends to propose (February, 1645) a re-modelling of the army, which amounted to the formation of a standing army in place of the former hastily raised and ill-trained levies. At the same time the old commanders were got rid of by a Self-denying Ordinance, by which all members of either House of Parliament were excluded from commands in the new army. This was carried in April, 1645.

5. An event, etc., it would scarcely be possible to give a greater character of uncertainty to an event than by speaking of it in the way in which Philips speaks of this matter. "If there ever was such a scheme," says Masson, "it must have been before the spring of 1645, after which Waller had no army." But, in any case, it remains perfectly certain that Milton at no time served in the Parliamentary army, even when London was threatened (in November, 1642), his eighth sonnet shows that he took no part in the preparations for defence. Yet "if there was any man in England of whom one might have surely expected that he would be in arms, that man was Milton. . . I believe there is some unascertained reason why he was not . . . but it remains somewhat of a mystery" (see Masson, *Life*, ii. 472-488).

7. Milton shall be, etc. Johnson is sarcastically stating the object which Philips had in view, namely, to prevent Milton being any longer spoken of as a pedagogue.

11. Holbourn, now spelt Holborn, and one of the principal streets in London, running east and west. The real date of Milton's removal was September or October, 1647. He had with him his wife, an infant daughter, and his two nephews.

Opened backward, i. e., from the back of the house one could reach Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, an open space attached to Lincoln's Inn (see note to page 5, line 30).

13. The King's death, on January 30th, 1649. In the interval Milton had written a metrical version of nine of the Psalms, and a Sonnet (XV), addressed to "The Lord General Fairfax." He had also been working at a Latin Dictionary, a History of England, and a System of Divinity.

14. The Presbyterians. These "hated the chiefs of the Commonwealth, not only as the murderers of the King, but also as the unabashed patrons of heresy and religious toleration" (Masson, iv 33).

A treatise, published on February 13th, 1649, under the title "The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates proving that it is Lawful, and hath been held so through all ages, for any, who have the

Power, to call to account a Tyrant or wicked King, and after due conviction to depose and put him to death, if the ordinary Magistrate have neglected or denied to do it "

16 Remarks, etc In January, 1649, the Marquis of Ormond had brought about a Royalist coalition between the Roman Catholics and the Episcopal Protestants of Ireland, "Articles of Peace" between the two parties being published In February Ormond issued a Proclamation of Charles II as King These and other Irish documents were referred by Parliament to the Council of State, and Milton (now Latin Secretary) was ordered to publish them together with *Observations* upon them The volume appeared in May, 1649

17 To write We should now say "with writing " It is contrasted with the interpolation of other people's writings, of which Milton is accused a few lines later.

20 Admitted, namely, into his thoughts

22 Desire superinduced conviction, the *wish* to believe that certain opinions were right led to the actual belief To *superinduce* is, literally, to bring something on the top of, or in addition to, something else

25 Interpolated, altered by the insertion of new matter, it being often implied that the new matter is such as the original author would not have accepted

There is absolutely no foundation for this charge against Milton, it probably started in a vague form amongst the Royalists about 1650, after the publication of his *Eikonoklastes*, and subsequently took a more definite shape See notes below

26 Icon Basilike, Greek for "The King's Image," "The true Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings," one of the most famous books of the world, published ten days after the King's execution It professed to have been written by Charles, and contains reflections on various passages of his life, each chapter ending with an appropriate prayer "Copies of it ran about instantaneously, and were read with sobs and tears It was in vain that Parliament gave orders for seizing the book Nearly fifty editions were printed within a single year" (Masson, iv 36) The authorship of the work was for long involved in much mystery, but it was claimed after the Restoration by a clergyman named Gauden, who was rewarded with the bishopric of Exeter It is possible that he may have had some scraps of Charles' own meditations which he worked up, but there is strong evidence that the book as a whole was Gauden's work

Council of State, a body of forty-one men, to whom the Executive Government of the country was committed after the death of Charles. It met at Whitehall

27 Latin Secretary On march 13, 1649, the Council of State appointed a committee of six members to deal with Foreign Powers, and offered the appointment of "Secretary for the Foreign Tongues"

to Milton. For convenience, Latin was adopted as the medium of communication with foreign states, so that the person holding this post was often called simply "the Latin Secretary." The salary of the post was about £288 a year, equivalent to about £1,000 now.

Censure, criticize.

By inserting is grammatically dependent on *interpolated*

28 Sidney's *Arcadia*, a celebrated prose romance, published by Sir Philip Sidney in 1590. Milton speaks of it as "a vain amorous poem," on which Pattison remarks that "the finer sense of the author of *L'Allegro* has suffered from immersion in the slough of religious and political faction."

The two prayers are given in parallel columns by Masson, *Life*, iv. 139; the one is put into the mouth of Pamela in Book III of the *Arcadia*, the other does not occur in the *Eikon Basilike* proper, but is one of a few appended to some of the more expensive editions of the book, with a separate title stating that they were used by His Majesty in the time of his sufferings, and delivered to Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London, immediately before his death.

29 Iconoclastes, or Image-Breaker, an answer to the *Eikon*, written by order of the Council of State, and published in October, 1649. "In one thing," says Milton, "I must commend his openness who gave the title to this book, *Eikon Basilike*, that is to say, The King's Image; and by the shrine he dresses out for him certainly would have the people come and worship him. For which reason this answer also is entitled *Eikonoklastes*, the famous surname of many Greek emperors, who, in their zeal to the command of God, after long tradition of idolatry in the Church, took courage and broke all superstitious images to pieces."

30. Indecent, unseemly, unbecoming. "Milton's reply is in a tone of rude railing and insolent swagger, which would have been always unbecoming, but which at this moment was grossly indecent" (Pattison). The same writer remarks that it is surprising that this plagiarism from such a well-known book as the *Arcadia* should not have opened Milton's eyes to the unauthentic character of the *Eikon*. Nevertheless he continued to treat Charles as the real author, and enlarges upon the topic of this plagiarism in his second edition of the *Eikonoklastes*, published in 1650.

34 Pop, to place a thing hurriedly and unexpectedly

The grave bishop, Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London, and, after the Restoration, Archbishop of Canterbury. He attended the King during his last days and on the scaffold.

35 Relique, or *relic*, something left behind, a memorial, and especially a fragment of the body of a saint preserved as a memorial.

Exercises, the performance of his religious duties, and especially prayers

36. A heathen woman, Pamela. The scene of the romance is supposed to be Arcadia, in Greece, but it is a queer sort of Greece,

neither ancient nor mediæval, neither Pagan nor Christian, but a mixture of them all The prayer itself has nothing particularly "heathenish" about it

In his second edition Milton speaks of Charles as a saint "whose bankrupt devotion came not honestly by his very prayers, but, having sharked them from the mouth of a heathen worshipper, sold them as his own heavenly compositions in adversity "

39 The regicides, those who put the King to death The next clause means that if they really found this prayer amongst the papers, it was they who were responsible for making it known to the world, not Juxon or the Royalists

40 Dr Birch Thomas Birch, D D (1705-1766), wrote a number of historical and biographical works, and amongst them an account of Milton's life and writings for an edition published in 1738 Johnson said of him that "he had more anecdotes than any man," and he is several times mentioned in Boswell

41 The use of it, etc, even assuming that the King had adapted it from the *Ascadia* for his own use, there was nothing criminal about that

Page 15 1 With a little extension, etc They showed their malice by their publication and noisy censure of the prayer, and they were quite capable of carrying their malice a little further, and actually forging what they were anxious to censure

"This," says Masson, "is pretty strong, though cautiously expressed But in that strange stream of Restoration tradition, which seems to have choked all high honour out of the English literary conscience for some generations, the charge has actually come down to our day, and apparently with no more serious reflection in some quarters than that the fabrication would have been a clever stratagem" (*Life*, iv '249, 250) There is no foundation whatever for the charge, and Milton ignores it

3 Sheltered in Holland Charles, together with his brother James, and a number of Royalist noblemen, had taken refuge with his brother-in-law, William II of Orange, Stadtholder of the Dutch Republic

4 Salmasius, the Latinised name of Claude de Saumaise, a Frenchman, born in 1588, and from an early age regarded as a prodigy of learning, it being said of him that what Salmasius did not know, was beyond the bounds of knowledge In 1631 he settled at Leyden, in Holland, the seat of a famous University

Polite Learning, i e, classical (Greek and Latin) literature and scholarship

6 Jacobuses A *Jacobus* (Latin for *James*) was a gold coin, struck in the reign of James I, and worth twenty-five shillings. Milton makes fun of this alleged payment in his Latin epigram

In *Salmasii Hundredam*, translated by Masson, *Poetical Works*, i. 334 ; but Charles was probably much too poor to pay anything of the kind (see note to page 15, line 40).

8 Emendatory criticism, that criticism which takes the form of suggesting emendations of the texts of classical writers as they have come down to us.

10 Though he probably, etc. "With all his reading Salmasius was still, at sixty, quite unacquainted with public affairs" (Pattison)

13. Expedition, speed

14 *Defensio Regis*, Defence of the King Its exact title was *Defensio Regia pro Carolo I.* Defence of the King, on behalf of Charles I. It was published in Holland in November, 1649.

15 Required, ordered by the Council Cunningham quotes from the *Order Book of the Council of State*, under date of January 8, 1650—"That Mr. Milton doe prepare something in answer to the booke of Salmasius, and when he hath done itt bring itt to the Conncill" The work was published at the beginning of 1651, with the title *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*, A Defence of the People of England But "instead of setting out the case of the Parliament in all the strength of which it was capable, Milton is intent upon tripping up Salmasius, contradicting him, and making him odious or ridiculous . . . He exhausts the Latin vocabulary of abuse . . . till the exaggeration of the style defeats the orator's purpose" (Pattison).

16 Hobbes, Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), a well-known philosopher. His criticism is contained in his *Behemoth* :—"They are very good Latin both, and hardly to be judged which is better, and both very ill reasoning, hardly to be judged which is worse, like two declamations, for and against, made for exercise only in a rhetoric school by one and the same man."

18 Periods, complete sentences

20 Teizing, annoying with jests and sarcasms, now spelt *teazing*.

21 Allusion is used in the sense (now obsolete) of 'comparison,' the *N E D* quotes a parallel from Gibbon (1781) —"Had he pursued the *allusion*, he must have painted many of the Gallic nobles with the hundred heads of the hydra" The passage occurs near the beginning of the *Defensio*. Salmasius having said that "some could not refrain from tears" at the news of Charles' death, Milton replies that "Salmasius is by a new metamorphosis become a fountain near akin to his name (Salmacis), and with his counterfeit flood of tears, prepared over night, endeavours to emascuate generous minds" Salmacis was a fountain in Caria (in Asia Minor), which was said to convert any man who bathed in it into a hermaphrodite, half man, half woman see Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, iv 286.

22 Which whoever entered left, a Latin form of construction, which we should now avoid

24 Was unhappily married, his marriage had turned out an unhappy one, since his wife was a *scold*, *z e*, a woman who was always scolding and tyrannising over her husband

Tu es Gallus, etc An elaborate Latin pun which it is difficult to convert into English Salmasius had appealed to the case of lower animals, such as bees and fowls, in support of the principle of monarchy, and the Latin name for a domestic cock is *gallus gallinaceus* "Now," says Milton, "you begin to be personally concerned Gallus gallinaceus, a cock, say you, has both cocks and hens under him How can that be, since you yourself that are Gallus [which means a Frenchman as well as a cock], and but too much Gallinaceus [too much henpecked, we might say, there being a pun on *gallina*, a hen], by report cannot govern your own single hen, but let her govern you?" Similarly, Milton calls Salmasius "an eternally speaking ass, ridden by a woman," and, in fact, is never weary of dragging in Madame de Saumaise

25 Tax with, charge with, accuse of using.

26 Vitious, faulty, the Latin *vitiosus*, though we now spell it *vicious*

He opens, Milton begins

27 He, Salmasius

Persona Salmasius had spoken of *Persona Regis*, the King's person Milton, however, is not quite correct in his criticism, for the use of *persona* in the sense of person, though rare in the best classical writers, is not unparalleled The word originally meant a mask worn by an actor, then a character in a play ("*dramatis persona*"), then the part played by anyone in real life, then the personage who played such a part, and finally (though rarely), person in general

29 Nemesis, a Greek goddess, the personification of Retribution, who was supposed sooner or later to punish those guilty of arrogance and presumption, as well as other offences

30 He, Milton

31 Solecism a mistake in syntax or idiom, derived from the Greek adjective *Soloikos*, speaking incorrectly, like an inhabitant of Soloi in Cilicia, where there was a Greek colony which became notorious for its corrupt dialect The word *solecistical* in the next line is uncommon

32 Ker, John Ker, the author of "Two Books of Select Observations on the Latin Language" (1709) As to the "some one before him," Cunningham refers to Vavassor, *On Epigrams*, 1678.

33 Propino te, etc, I pass you on to be chastised by your own grammarians "Though Johnson's criticism of *vapulandus* is

correct, it seems probable that Milton was only parodying a passage in Terence, *Euruchus*, v. 8. 57—*hunc comedendum et deridendum vobis profino*—and knowingly misused *capulandum*” (Deighton). The point is that from an *active* Latin verb a participle in *dus* can be formed which has a passive meaning, but *capulo* (“I am beaten”) is a peculiar verb, which though active in form is already *passive* in meaning.

35 No man forgets, etc. Milton as well as Salmasius had been a teacher of Latin; and the grammatical instinct proved too strong for both of them, even when they were professing to discuss high political questions. But not only was this the case with the writers; “the contending interests of the two great English parties, the wider issue between republic and absolutism, the speculative enquiry into the right of resistance, were lost sight of by the spectators of this literary duel. The only question was whether Salmasius could beat the new champion, or the new man beat Salmasius at a match of vituperation (Pattison). This affords a subject for Butler’s satire (*Upon Human Learning*, part 11) —

“He who fought at barriers with Salmasius,
Engaged with nothing but his style and phrases,
Waived to assert the murder of a prince,
The author of false Latin to convince.”

39 Dim of sight. He had already lost the sight of one eye, and had been warned not to overtask the other by book-work, but, as he tells us himself, he deliberately chose to sacrifice his sight rather than give up the task of defending the Commonwealth. By 1652 he was totally blind.

Forward, eager, zealous

40 He was rewarded, etc. An examination of the Order-book of the Council shows that together with their thanks they voted Milton a sum of money, possibly one hundred pounds, but that they must have been informed that Milton would not accept any such reward, and therefore changed their minute on the subject, “voting him their thanks only, but doing so more comprehensively and emphatically. Apart from Milton’s natural magnanimity, it was utterly impossible that he should accept a money-reward for his book, after what he had said about Salmasius and his hundred Jacobuses” (Masson, *Life*, iv. 321, 322). Mark Pattison waxed indignant on the subject of the alleged reward—“This falsehood, having been adopted by Johnson—himself a pensioner—has passed into all the biographies, and will no doubt continue to be repeated to the end of time. This is a just nemesis upon Milton, who had twitted Salmasius with having been complimented by the exiled king with a purse of a hundred Jacobuses. The one insinuation was as false as the other.”

41 Recommended, etc., when it has the advantage of being stated in a spirited and elegant form.

Page 16. 1. He, i. e., every man.

2 Want, fail to obtain

3 The performance, etc, that the book written by Salmasius was not circulated

5 Stale It had been heard so often that it had ceased to be interesting Johnson is speaking ironically, his own sympathies being all on the side of Salmasius The latter, however, had made himself unpopular at Leyden, so that there was rather a predisposition to welcome Milton's onslaught upon him

8 Not yet considered, etc Many were envious of Salmasius' fame, and so were glad to see him attacked, whilst Milton's name was so "new" on the Continent that no one was as yet envious of him.

9 Christina, the queen of Sweden mentioned on page 6, line 34 She had invited Salmasius to her court at Stockholm in 1650, but about a year later he quitted the country, owing (as Milton afterwards asserted) to the effect produced on the queen and people by the publication of Milton's *Defensio*. Whitelocke, English ambassador to Christina in 1653, mentions in his journal that she 'highly commended the matter of part of the book, and the language'

10 Must be, 'must have been' would be more regular, but compare page 24, line 20

11 Civil station, position in society, social rank

Milton subsequently asserted that Christina felt a decided inclination to his side, "for what I had written against tyrants, you said, could have no possible reference to you"

12 Who was, etc Though this clause qualifies *her*, it is too long to be placed between *her* and *to favour*, and is therefore reserved for the end of the period, where it comes in very emphatically

14 From the appearance, from the time of its publication

18 Dismissed, allowed to go away, compare page 15, line 7 Milton admits in his *Defensio Secunda* (1654) that "the Queen abated nothing certainly of her former kindness and munificence to her guest" On the other hand, Salmasius' biographer asserts that Christina offered him the most handsome and ample terms, that she might retain him for ever in her service, but Salmasius had only received leave of absence from Leyden University for a certain time, and therefore returned thither in 1651

19 Attendance, attendants, this use of the abstract for the concrete is now obsolete, but compare *Paradise Lost*, x 80 — "Attendance none shall need, nor train"

21 Restauration, the old spelling of *restoration*, from the Latin *restauratio*

Salmasius died in September, 1653, about two years after his return from Sweden His Reply, begun at Stockholm, and continued

at intervals up to his death, was published at the end of 1660, when Milton was not in a position to take any notice of it.

22 Most in pain for his Latinity, most anxious to disprove ^{To show he is} the charge of using bad Latin.

26 Quid agis, etc. "What are you to do when the person you are dealing with is too disgraceful for any accusation?"—Juvenal, *Satires*, iv 14, 15,

28. Reproached Milton The first scholar of his age, says Pattison, did not think it unbecoming to taunt Milton with his blindness in such language as this. "A puppy, once my pretty little man, now blear-eyed; having never had any mental vision, he has now lost his bodily sight; a silly coxcomb, fancying himself a beauty, an unclean beast, with nothing more human about him than his guttering eyelids," etc

29 Delighted himself, etc, in the *Defensio Secunda* (1654)—"I will not write against the dead, nor will I reproach him with the loss of life as he did me with the loss of sight, though there are some who impute his death to the penetrating severity of my strictures, which he rendered only the more sharp by his endeavours to resist." He returns to the subject more than once.

30 And both perhaps, and both Salmasius and Milton, perhaps acted as they did.

31 The Spa, or, as we should now call it, simply *Spa*, a town in Belgium, where there was a famous mineral spring with medicinal properties. (Hence the name *spa* has come to be applied to any place where there is a spring of mineral water)

32 Controvertists, persons who engage in controversy; we now generally use controversialist.

35. Commenced monarch, began to act as a monarch, a sense in which the word Commence is now no longer used, it is akin to the technical use in connection with University degrees (compare note to page 4, line 20) Similarly, in his *Life of Dryden* (page 3) Johnson says that he "commenced a writer for the stage"

Cromwell had expelled the Long parliament on April 20th, 1653, and on December 12th the Little, or Barebones', Parliament dissolved itself. On the 16th was issued the Instrument of Government, by which Cromwell was declared Lord Protector, to be associated with a Council of State of fifteen, and a new Parliament. Till this Parliament could be got together, the Protector's ordinances were to have the force of law.

40 Hunger and philosophy, the "spare diet and hard study" already twice referred to. There is, however, no reason to suppose that it was the salary of the post that attracted Milton, and even without it his means were ample at that time.

Under a manifest usurpation, under the rule of Cromwell, who had obviously usurped a power to which he had no right.

41. To his power, as far as was in his power

That Milton did not consider Cromwell's position inconsistent with Republicanism is evident from the glowing panegyric of the Protector which appeared in the *Second Defence* in 1654, at the same time he practically warns him to beware of the temptations to arbitrariness and self-will to which his high post exposed him; Masson, *Life*, iv 603-614 "That an enthusiastic votary of liberty," says Macaulay, "should accept office under a military usurper seems, no doubt, at first sight, extraordinary. But the ambition of Oliver was of no vulgar kind. He never seems to have coveted despotic power. The choice lay, not between Cromwell and liberty, but between Cromwell and the Stuarts. That Milton chose well, no man can doubt who fairly compares the events of the Protectorate with those of the thirty years which succeeded it."

Page 17 7 Disabled to discharge. We should now say "disabled from discharging."

Milton's blindness came on slowly for about ten years, and was complete before the middle of 1652, when some of his official duties were transferred to an Assistant Secretary. Though Milton has said a good deal about his affliction, he had no medical knowledge, and it is not possible to say exactly what the disease was, whether amaurosis, cataract, or glaucoma. But he more than once declares that the external appearance of the eyes was not affected, they were "clear to outward view of blemish or of spot." Compare *Sonnets* xix, xxii; *Paradise Lost*, iii. 21-55.

8 Too eager to be diverted, so eager that it could not be diverted,
7 c., turned aside from its purpose

10 About this time Milton's youngest surviving child was born in May, 1652, but whether his wife died at this time or later ("1653 or 1654," Masson, *Works*, i. 42), is not known with certainty.

✓ In childbed, in giving birth to a child

12 After a short time This was in November, 1656, so that the interval was not so short as Johnson seems to have supposed. No doubt, also, Milton's three little girls required some one to look after them.

14 Hackney, a place in the north-east of London, of which it is now a suburb. Nothing further is known of Milton's second wife.

15 Within a year Really rather more than a year The child was born in October, 1657, the mother died in February, 1658, and the infant followed her in March.

/ Dystemper, disease The word is a survival of the old medical theory that there were four "humours" in the human body, and that disease was due to these being "tempered," or mixed, in unsuitable proportions.

16 A poor sonnet, Sonnet xxiii., beginning "Methought I saw my late espoused saint," and usually admired by those who do not share Johnson's peculiar views on the subject of lyric poetry. "

19. Apologia, etc., "An Apology on behalf of the English King and People, in answer to the Defence, destructive of the King and People, by John the Busybody (otherwise called Milton)," published at Antwerp in 1651. The author having indicated that he was a refugee English clergyman, current report attributed the work (in spite of its silliness and bad Latin) to a man of real ability, Dr. John Bramhall, formerly Bishop of Derry in Ireland. In 1653 a Supplement to it was published, with the title of *Polemica*, which acknowledged the real author to be a clergyman named John Rowland.

22 An answer, entitled "The Reply of John Philips, Englishman, to the childish Apology of a certain Anonymous Skulker on behalf of the King and People of England." Milton gave his nephew some suggestions, and had the work read to him with a view to correcting the Latin. It was published in London in December, 1652.

24. Bramhal (1594-1663) became Archbishop of Armagh after the Restoration, and Speaker of the Irish House of Lords: see the last note but one

Knowing him no friend, knowing that he was not friendly to.

25 As if they had known, etc, viz., that Bramhall was the real author of the Apology.

27. Next year. Johnson probably had 1651, the last date he had mentioned, in his mind; but the book was really published in the same year as Philips' Reply, viz., 1652, and probably in August

Regni Sanguis, etc "The Cry of the King's Blood to Heaven ✓ against the English Parricides" was the full title of this work, in which lavish praise of Salmasius was combined with the most scurrilous abuse of Milton

28. Peter du Moulin, the son of a French Protestant theologian, was born in 1601, and was educated at Leyden. In 1640 he is heard of at Cambridge, and at the time of the Civil War was Rector of a parish near York, from which he was expelled by the Parliamentarians in 1644. During the period of the Commonwealth he lived in various parts of England and Ireland, but after the Restoration was made chaplain to Charles II. and prebendary of Canterbury, where he died in 1684.

Prebendary, a clergyman attached to a cathedral church, and receiving a prebend, or salary, from its property. derived from the Latin prae'benda, a payment to a private person from a public source.

29 Morus. Alexander Morus (the Latinised form of *Mores*), born in 1616, though half Scotch by birth, was practically a Frenchman. He had held Greek and Theological professorships

at Geneva and at Middelburg (in Holland), and in 1652 was made professor of Sacred History at Leyden, where he lived for a time with Salmasius. Milton's attack upon him, and other scandals, so damaged his reputation that in 1659 he had to resign his professorship, becoming minister to a congregation at Charènton (near Pâris), where he died in 1670. He is said to have been a fine scholar and eloquent preacher, but "unless he was grossly calumniated, his morals must have been far less strict than his theology."

Having the care, etc., having been entrusted with the duty of getting it published. "He was the editor of the book, the corrector of the press, and the active agent in the circulation of early copies" (Masson, *Life*, v 214). The author, Du Moulin, was in England, but was afraid to commit his manuscript to any printer there, and so sent it to Leyden.

31 *Defensio Secunda*, "Second Defence of John Milton, Englishman, on behalf of the English People, in Reply to an Infamous Anonymous Book, called Cry of the King's Blood," etc. published in May, 1654.

32 Gave his persecutors, etc. On hearing that Milton was preparing this pamphlet, Morus became much alarmed, and did his utmost to convince him that he was not the real author of the *Regni Sanguinis Clamor*. At the same time he would not betray the author, hence Milton refused to believe his assurances, and published the *Defensio Secunda* as it stood. Even in 1655, though Milton was by that time aware that there *was* some author behind Morus, he did not know who it was, and in Masson's opinion (*Life*, v 222) it was not until after the Restoration that he learnt the whole truth. It is at any rate to Morus' credit that he kept the secret entrusted to him so well as he did.

34 Milton's pride, etc. Though his "malignity" to the author would naturally have led him to attack Du Moulin, he was prevented from doing so by his pride, which would not permit him to acknowledge that he had been mistaken in attributing the authorship to Morus. This is Du Moulin's own account, published in 1670, wherein he speaks of his escape from Milton as a "miracle of Divine protection" (Masson, *Life*, v 219-221), but the secret was really kept longer than he chooses to acknowledge (see the last note), in fact, so little was Du Moulin suspected, that he was allowed to take the degree of D D at Oxford in 1656, though the University was then under Puritan control.

35 He, Milton

39 *Deserimur*, etc. The passage (which is addressed to Cromwell) is translated by Johnson in the succeeding paragraph. In addition to the panegyric on the Protector, there are eulogies of Queen Christina, Bradshaw, Fairfax and others of the commonwealth leaders.

Page 18 9 *Cæsar*, etc. Julius Cæsar, after defeating the rival Pompeian faction in Greece, Spain, and Africa, was in 45 B.C. nominated Dictator for life, by the Roman Senate. . .

18 The coalition of human society, that combination of elements which makes up human society. The word *coalition* is most commonly applied to a temporary combination of parties or nations the interests of which are normally divergent.

19. Agreeable to reason, in accordance with reason, rational

23 The father of your country, a Latin title of honour (*pater patriæ*), applied to Cicero at the time of the Catilinarian conspiracy (B C 63), to Marius, to Julius Cæsar to Trajan, and to many of the emperors who succeeded him

27 To defend himself To Milton's *Second Defence* Morus had replied in a pamphlet called *Fides Publica*, or "Public Testimony, in answer to the Calumnies of John Milton," in which he repudiated the authorship of the *Regni Sanguinis Clamor*, and gave a number of testimonials to his own character from eminent clergymen and others This was in October, 1654 In the following August Milton published his *Pro Se Defensio*, "Defence of Himself, by John Milton, Englishman, in Reply to Alexander Morus, rightly called the Author of the notorious Book, entitled *Cry of the King's Blood*," etc

28 Justly called the author, as having prepared it for the press Milton also quotes the persistent report to the effect that Morus was the author, the truth of which Morus had only denied in general terms and without stating who was the author

31 Morus es? etc. "Are you Morus, or Momus, or are the two the same?" *Morus* means a fool, and also a mulberry-tree, and *Momus* was the Greek god of criticism and sarcasm Milton's opponent had tried to be critical and sarcastic had he succeeded, or was he only *morus*, a fool?

33 The known transformation, described by Ovid, *Metamorphoses*,
iv 51—

"An quæ poma alba ferebat
Ut nunc nigra ferat contactu sanguinis arbor"

The mulberry turns from red to black as it ripens Ovid describes it as having been originally white, but then transformed by contact with the blood of Pyramus, who committed suicide under a mulberry-tree

34 Poma, etc, "the mulberry-tree (*morus*), which afterwards bore black fruit, once bore white," similarly Morus had once, perhaps, been respectable, but was so no longer A large portion of Milton's sarcasms are aimed at certain amorous intrigues of which Morus was accused both in Geneva and at Leyden

Page 19 1 To the Protector, really to the Council of State

2 Declaration, etc, a Latin document, published in November, 1655, and called "Manifesto of the Lord Protector, put forth by the consent and advice of his Council, in which the justice of the cause

of this Commonwealth against the Spaniards is demonstrated." The English fleet had already attacked the Spanish possessions in the West Indies, and captured Jamaica. What share Milton had in this production is doubtful, but he had already written two similar Declarations, that against the Scotch in 1650, and that against the Dutch in 1652.

4 Artfully suspended, delayed with a view to gain some advantage for the English Government

Queen Christina had been succeeded by Charles X, who sent a splendid embassy to London in July, 1655, headed by Count Bundt but though various audiences and banquets were given to the Swedes, the question of a Treaty was constantly avoided. At last Bundt became so impatient that in January, 1656, negotiations were begun, and dragged along until April, when a draft treaty was submitted to him, but in English. He asked that it might be translated into Latin, and a fresh delay occurred. "The Swedish Ambassador," says Whitelocke in his *Journal*, "again complained of the delays in his business, and that when he had desired to have the Articles of this Treaty put into Latin, according to the custom in Treaties, it was fourteen days they made him stay for that translation, and sent it to one Mr Milton, a blind man, to put them into Latin, who, he said, must use an amanuensis to read it to him, and that amanuensis might publish the matter of the Articles as he pleased, and that it seemed strange to him there should be none but a blind man capable of putting a few Articles into Latin. The employment of Mr Milton was excused to him, because several other servants of the Council, fit for that employment, were then absent" (Cp Masson, v 254-257)

5 Indisposition, a common term for a slight illness

Agent, the ambassador, who acted for the Swedish king.

Provoked to We should now say "provoked into expressing." As a mark of the esteem in which Milton was held, it may be mentioned that he received a legacy from Bradshaw (the President of the High Court of Justice which condemned Charles), who died in 1659.

8 Disencumbered, freed External interruptions, &c., the controversies with Salmasius and Morus, which had now come to an end. He continued to discharge his official duties until the Restoration.

13 Collect a dictionary, To 'collect materials for' one would be the more usual expression

15 Collation, comparison of various passages and books, the Latin *collatio*, a bringing together, or comparing.

16 Always before him, as a design to be accomplished.

18 Discomposed, wanting in arrangement Philips himself is said to have used them for two works he published in 1684, called *Enchiridion Linguae Latinae* and *Speculum Linguae Latinae*.

19. Printed at Cambridge, in 1693, "by several persons whose names have been concealed from public knowledge" So says the next dictionary-maker, Ainsworth (1736), adding that the Cambridge editors used Milton's manuscript collection in three large folios Ainsworth incorporated the Cambridge dictionary in his own work, and all subsequent Latin dictionaries have incorporated Ainsworth.

20. Folios. A *folio* is a book of the largest kind, because made of sheets each of which is folded only once, so as to give two leaves, or four pages, to the sheet If the sheets are folded twice, so as to give *four* leaves (eight pages) to each sheet, we have a *quarto*; if folded four times, an *octavo*.

But, except.

Milton's "History of Britain, That part especially now called England, from the first Traditional Beginning, continued to the Norman Conquest" was published in 1670 In 1648, before he became Latin Secretary, he had written four books of it, and only two were subsequently added It is a popular compilation from Cæsar, Tacitus, the old chroniclers and others, without any critical research or real historical value cp Masson, vi 642-649

28 Long chusing, etc. Milton says this of himself in *Paradise Lost*, ix. 26—

"Since first this subject for heroic song
Pleased me, long choosing and beginning late "

Chuse is an archaic way of spelling the word

31 King Arthur, a legendary king of ancient Britain, the central figure of a cycle of romances, best known to English readers through Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*.

32. Mansus, Manso, the nobleman whom he met at Naples, see page 8. In the poem which Milton addressed to him, he speaks of Manso's patronage of Tasso, and continues—"O that my lot might yield me such a friend, if perchance I shall ever call back into verse our native kings, and Arthur stirring wars even under the earth that hides him, or speak of the great-souled heroes, the knights of the unconquered Table" (Masson, *Life*, i. 167) The same intention is expressed still more clearly in the *Epitaphium Damonis*, written after Charles Diodati's death; see Masson's translation, *Life*, ii. 91, or *Poetical Works*, ii 83.

Fenton has already been mentioned on page 1 The *other destiny* was Blackmore's epic of *Prince Arthur* (1695), followed by *King Arthur* (1697), poems of which Hallam says that they were "popular in their own age, but intolerable by their frigid and tame monotony in the next "

35 In a library, that of Trinity College The papers referred to were written between 1639 and 1642.

36. Digested, thought over and reduced to order.

37. Mysteries, sacred plays, founded on Scripture history or the Lives of the Saints, and very common in the Middle Ages. The word has no connection with *mystery* meaning something secret or obscure, but is derived from the Old French *mestier*, a trade, because it was usual for associations of tradesmen or craftsmen to arrange for the production of such plays. They were also known as Miracle Plays in England.

39 Satan's address to the Sun. This will be found in *Paradise Lost*, iv 32-113. The first ten lines are as follows —

" O thou, that, with surpassing glory crowned,
Look'st from thy sole dominion like the God
Of this new world, at whose sight all the stars
Hide their dimmish'd heads, to thee I call,
But with no friendly voice, and add thy name,
O Sun! to tell thee how I hate thy beams,
That bring to my remembrance from what state
I fell, how glorious once above thy sphere,
Till pride and worse ambition threw me down,
Warring in Heaven against Heaven's matchless King "

Masson assigns 1642 as the probable date of this incident (*Poetical Works*, ii 48)

✓ 40 Allegorical persons. In the Mysteries proper the characters were usually real persons from Scriptural or Church history; when the characters were allegorical, the play was called a *Morality*.

Page 20 1 Michael (Hebrew, "Who is like unto God?"), an archangel represented in Scripture and by Milton as the leader of the heavenly armies.

4 Lucifer, literally, "the light-bringer," a Latin name for the planet Venus, when visible as "the morning-star." The name is metaphorically applied to the King of Babylon in *Isaiah*, xiv 12—"How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning!" but some early Christian commentators understood this to refer to the fall of Satan (cp *Revelation*, xii 9), and so Lucifer came to be a name for Satan. Compare *Paradise Lost*, vii. 131, *seq.* —

" After Lucifer from Heaven
(So call him, brighter once amidst the host
Of Angels than that star the stars among)
Fell with his flaming legions through the Deep "

The planet Venus, when appearing as an evening star, was known
111 Greek and Latin as *Hesperus*

11 Mutes, characters who only appear on the stage, and do not speak.

14. Faith, Hope, Charity. The constant association of these is due to a famous passage in St Paul's *1st Epistle to the Corinthians*, xiii., which concludes thus—"And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three, but the greatest of these is charity," i. e., love.

19 Moses, the great Jewish lawgiver The following (Greek) word means "speaks the prologue," or introductory speech, such as is found at the beginning of many of the tragedies of Euripides, of whom Milton was a great admirer. The Greek "prologize" is occasionally found as an English word.

Assumed his true body Of the death of Moses, after viewing the Promised Land from Mount Pisgah, we are told only that "Moses the servant of the Lord died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord. And He buried him in a valley in the land of Moab, over against Beth-peor, but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day" (*Deuteronomy*, xxxiv 5, 6). In the New Testament St. Matthew records (xvii 1-3) that "After six days Jesus taketh Peter, James, and John his brother, and bringeth them up into an high mountain apart, and was transfigured before them and his face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light. And, behold, there appeared unto them Moses and Elijah, talking with him."

20 Corrupts not, does not decay, the verb being used intransitively, which is not common, but compare Milton's ode *On the Death of a Fair Infant*, line 30 —

"Yet can I not persuade me thou art dead,
Or that thy corse corrupts in earth's dark womb"

Declares the like, declares that the same is the case with

21. Enoch, an Old Testament character, supposed to have been carried up to heaven without dying, on the strength of *Genesis*, v 24 ("And Enoch walked with God and he was not, for God took him"), and *Epistle to the Hebrews*, xi 5 — "By faith Enoch was translated that he should not see death, and was not found, because God had translated him."

Elijah, one of the most striking of the Old Testament prophets, though he left no writings behind him. His end is thus described in II *Kings*, xi 11 — "And it came to pass, as they still went on and talked, that, behold, there appeared a chariot of fire and horses of fire, and parted them both asunder, and Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven."

23 Whence exhorts, etc, and therefore exhorts his hearers to *purity*, since "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God" (*St. Matthew*, v 8).

24 The state of innocence, as he was at first created, and before he was tempted into sin.

26 If he fall, if he falls away from the state of innocence by yielding to temptation, and thereby falling into sin.

A discussion of this nature actually takes place in *Paradise Lost*, 111 80-346, between God the Father and the Son, and is followed by a hymn of the Angels in praise of the Divine Son. Their Creation-hymn is described in 111 560-632.

31 The marriage-song, in honour of the nuptials of the newly-created Adam and Eve Compare *Paradise Lost*, viii 510-520, where the Evening-star is also mentioned as bidden "on his hill-top to light the bridal lamp," and iv. 710, 711—

"Here . espoused Eve decked first her nuptial bed,
And heavenly choirs the hymenæan sung,"

the *hymenæan* being a Greek name for the marriage-song

Paradise, literally, a garden, from the Greek *paradisos*, a park, itself said to be of Persian origin, hence applied especially to the garden of Eden, in which Adam and Eve are said to have been placed after their creation It is described in *Paradise Lost*, iv. 210-287, viii 300-310.

32 Lucifer, etc This is carried out in portions of books ix and ix of *Paradise Lost*

33 Relates, etc Compare Raphael's narrative, *Paradise Lost*, v. 577-vi 912

Page 21. 1-2 Adam, Eve, fallen Described in the latter portion of *Paradise Lost*, ix

3 Cites them, etc, summons them before God to be examined as to what they have done, *cite* being a regular legal term

5 Driven out, etc, Described in *Paradise Lost*, xii

8 Gives their names Suggested by *Genesis*, ii 20—"And Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field," compare *Paradise Lost*, viii 342-353

16 Unparadised, driven out of Paradise.

17 Gabriel, (Hebrew, 'man of God,' or perhaps "strong man of God") an archangel mentioned two or three times in Scripture. In *Paradise Lost* (iv 550) he is represented as "chief of the angelic guards" in charge of Paradise

Shewing, declaring

18 Frequency, frequent presence on, or visits to

20 His, because (as in Greek tragedies) the chorus would speak through their leader Moreover, Milton avoids as much as possible the word *its*, which was coming into use in his time

23 Tracing Paradise, etc, passing through it more freely and frequently, just as an officer goes his rounds to see that the sentries are at their posts For this sense of *trace* compare "trace the forests wild," in Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, ii. 1 25

25 As, as for instance *Their* refers to Adam and Eve

27 His overthrow, i.e., his defeat in the celestial battle and expulsion from Heaven, events which are supposed to have already taken place

28. Prepare resistance So in *Paradise Lost*, when Satan is discovered in the Garden and brought before Gabriel, the latter exclaims to his guards—

“He, by his gait
And fierce demeanour, seems the Prince of Hell—
Not likely to part hence without contest ;
Stand firm, for in his look defiance lours ”—(iv 870-873)-

An angry discussion, or *discourse of enmity*, follows

32 Insulting in, boasting of, or exulting in, an obsolete sense of the word, which Webster illustrates from Daniel (1562-1619)—
“The lion being dead, even hares insult ”

Page 22 1 To the destruction, i.e., with a view to effecting it. In *Paradise Lost* this exultant narrative appears in x. 460-503

2. Seduced, deceived into eating the forbidden fruit

3. Confusedly, as if ashamed of themselves compare *Genesis*, iii. 7.—“And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked, and they sewed fig-leaves together, and made themselves aprons ” So also *Paradise Lost*, x 1091-1121

In a shape, appearing in a bodily form.

4. Jehovah, the form in which the English translation of the Old Testament represents the peculiar Hebrew name for God

5. Entertains. We commonly use “occupies” to express this meaning

Is informed the manner. ‘To inform a person of a thing’ is the usual expression, but the construction here is similar to that of such sentences as “he is taught Latin ”

8. Lays the blame to We should now say *on* This is the scene described in *Paradise Lost*, ix 1065-1189, when—

“They in mutual accusation spent
The fruitless hours, but neither self-condemning ”

10 Beware. We now usually add *of*, but Longfellow has
“Beware the pine-tree’s withered branch ”

12 Before, i.e., before banishing them

In shapes, in bodily forms In *Paradise Lost* the archangel Michael shows Adam in a vision what should befall his descendants, xi 423-xii 551

Mask, or masque, see note to page 5, line 7

14 The Messiah, in Hebrew, the Anointed One; the expected ruler and deliverer of the Hebrew race, identified by Christians with Jesus, hence called ‘the Christ,’ i.e., the Anointed (Greek *Christos*).

15 Gives God the glory, which is due to Him, by acknowledging the justice of the sentence pronounced by Him. The expression is taken from *Joshua*, vii 19 — "And Joshua said unto Achan, My son, give, I pray thee, glory to the Lord God of Israel, and make confession unto him, and tell me now what thou hast done; hide it not from me."

17 Draught, outline; now written *draft* when used in this sense.

✓ 19 Seminal state, literally, the state of seed, *z c*, in their germ, *semen* being Latin for seed.

27 Numbers, verses, poetry (the syllables, *etc*, being regularly counted), a translation of the Latin *numeri*, very common in English writers at one time.

29 Seemly arts and affairs. See the passage quoted from the *Reason of Church Government* on page 10, line 22.

33 Wanted, needed, required.

34 Had he, *etc*. Even if he had retained his sight, and so been able to read books, he would not really have required much help from them.

37 As he could, as much as he could.

38 Raleigh, Sir Walter Raleigh, the well-known Elizabethan courtier, naval commander, and explorer, put to death by James I. in 1618.

Milton says of this MS. that it had been given him as a genuine work by "a learned man who collected several such pieces," and that it had been in his hands for many years, but "finding it lately by chance among other papers, upon reading thereof I thought it a kind of injury to withhold longer the work of so eminent an author from the public." The title was "The Cabinet Council Containing the chief Arts of Empire, and Mysteries of State, Discabined in Political and Polemical Aphorisms, grounded on Authority and Experience, and Illustrated with the choicest Examples and Historical Observations."

39 A Treatise *etc*. This 'Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes, showing that it is not lawful for any power on Earth to compel in matters of Religion' was addressed to Richard Cromwell's parliament in 1659. "More was intended in it than a plea for Toleration the very existence of any Established Church whatever was condemned." So far it was in opposition to Oliver's policy, but it produced no effect, for "it was evident that the preservation of Cromwell's Church-Establishment was a foregone conclusion in the minds of the vast majority" (Masson, *Life*, v 581-588). In August of the same year, after Richard's abdication, Milton published a second pamphlet, called "Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove Hirelings out of the Church. Wherein is also discoursed of Tithes, Church-fees, Church-Revenues, and whether any maintenance of ministers can be settled by law." Compare note to page 4, line 2.

Page 23 1 Oliver, etc. He died on September 3rd, 1658. His son, Richard, was at first received quietly, but he soon incurred the displeasure of the Army, and was forced to dissolve the Parliament he had called together, and then to resign his own office (May 25th, 1659). The army had already restored the remnant of the Long Parliament, expelled by Oliver, and known as the Rump, and many of Cromwell's arrangements were swept away. The Rump and the Army, however, soon quarrelled, and confusion became general.

2. Extemporary, constructed to suit the circumstances of the moment.

4. His cause, the political and religious principles which he had upheld

6 Toland. John Toland (1670-1722), one of the leaders of the English Deists, published a Life of Milton and an edition of the Prose Works, in 1698

8 He bated, etc. A quotation from Milton's second sonnet addressed to Cyriack Skinner (xxii) in which, after speaking of his blindness, he continues—

" Yet I argue not
Against Heaven's hand or will, nor bate a jot
Of heart or hope; but still bear up, and steer
Right onward "

This was written about 1655, so that the words did not originally refer to his feelings in "the year of the Restoration," viz., 1660. Bated no jot of heart means "lost not a bit of his courage," *bate* being a shortened form of *abate*, and *jot* being used for anything that is very small (really the same as the Greek letter *iota*, our *i*, the smallest letter)

Fantastical, fanciful, the word *fancy* itself being a contraction of the Greek *phantasia*, appearance or imagination. *Fantastic* is now usually applied to what is irregular and grotesque in appearance.

9 A pamphlet, called "The Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth, and the Excellence thereof compared with the inconveniences and dangers of readmitting Kingship in this Nation," and published in February or March, 1660. Before this Monk, with the army of Scotland, had marched upon London, and practically been made Dictator by the Rump but, to the dismay of the Republicans, he had restored all the Presbyterian and Royalist members of the House of Commons who had been expelled. Milton endeavoured to conceal his despondency, but "throughout the pamphlet there is a sad and fierce undertone, as of one knowing that what he is prophesying as easy will never come to pass" (Masson, *Life*, v 646). His *ready and easy way* practically amounted to the proposal that, instead of Parliaments elected periodically, there should be a permanent "Grand Council of the Commonwealth," which should appoint a smaller executive "Council of State," and at the same time he recommended what would now be called a system of Local Government in the counties

11 Enough considered, considered of sufficient importance.

12. Ludicrously, in a jesting manner We should scarcely use the word in this way now, but only of things that are themselves ridiculous

"Not one of Milton's pamphlets," says Masson (v 657), "had a larger immediate circulation, or provoked a more rapid fury of criticism" Of the retorts, Masson quotes *The Character of the Rump* and *The Censure of the Rota upon Mr Milton's Book*, both published in March, 1660, and *The Dignity of Kingship Asserted*, published in April.

14. Apparently, clearly, obviously, not in its usual modern sense. Compare *Paradise Lost*, iv 605, *seq.*—

"Hesperus, that led
The starry host, rode brightest, till the Moon,
Rising in clouded majesty, at length
Apparent queen, unveiled her peerless light "

Harrington James Harrington (1611-1677), though he had been for a time "groom of the bedchamber" to Charles I in his captivity, held a sort of Republican idealism which he set forth in his political romance, *The Commonwealth of Oceana* (1656) With his followers, in 1659, he set up a debating club, called *The Rota*, in which everything was settled by *ballot*, and there was a constant *rotation* amongst the officers of the club—these being the central principles of Harrington's system Milton's friend, Cyriack Skinner, was a member of the club, which was dissolved about February, 1660. *The Censure of the Rota*, referred to in the last note but one, was really written by a Royalist, but professed to be issued by Harrington and his club

16 The gravity of political importance, as seriously as if their proceedings were really of some political importance

17 By rotation, every one being given his turn of office Milton was opposed to Harrington's principle, and preferred a *permanent* Council, but in his pamphlet he had expressed himself willing (if it would gain him popular support) to let a portion of the Council retire in favour of new men every second or third year

✓ Kicking, etc., "using such means of annoyance as still remained in his power" (Deighton)

19. Notes, etc Dr Matthew Griffith had been driven from his London rectory by the Parliament, and took refuge with the King, who made him one of his chaplains During the Commonwealth Griffith continued the usages of the Anglican Church by stealth, and was four times imprisoned, but on March 25th, 1660, he had the courage to preach a very Royalist sermon on the text "Fear God and the King." This he published in April, with an address to Monk, who was doing his utmost to conceal his Royalist designs, and who promptly committed Griffith to gaol A little later Milton published his *Brief Notes* upon the sermon, which betray his sad conviction of the determination of those in power to restore Charles II.

21 L'Estrange, Sir Roger L'Estrange (1616-1704), a Royalist pamphleteer, afterwards Licensor of Plays under Charles II and James II. His answer to Milton was published in April, with the title "No Blind Guides, in answer to a seditious Pamphlet entitled," *etc.*, and with the Scriptural motto—"If the Blind lead the Blind, both shall fall into the ditch." It is this cruel reference to Milton's infirmity that Johnson calls *petulant*, *i e*, wanton, insolent.

25. He, Milton He was probably dismissed about the beginning of April, 1660 Charles II was proclaimed on May 8th, and entered London on the 29th

27. By his office, on account of, or by virtue of, his office. But he had left this official residence long before The last house mentioned by Johnson was that in Holborn, which Milton took about September or October, 1647 In March, 1649, when appointed Secretary, it was convenient for him to live nearer to his work in Whitehall, and so he lodged "at one Thomson's, at Charing Cross" until November, when his official lodgings in Scotland Yard, Whitehall, were ready. From this he moved in 1652 to "a pretty garden-house in Petty France, Westminster, opening into St James' Park" It was from this last residence that he fled in 1660, just in time to avoid arrest.

Proportioning, etc. He thought that his political writings were of great importance, and therefore that his danger was correspondingly great it is implied that he was mistaken in both respects

29. Bartholomew-Close A close is a narrow passage leading from a street into a court. This one led from West Smithfield (where there was a great cattle-market) by a very old archway, once part of the church of the Priory of St Bartholomew. Here Milton lay concealed from May until the passing of the Act of Oblivion on August 29th.

31 Cannot but remark, cannot help noticing. It is curious that Johnson should make this remark, and yet be totally, silent about Milton's long residence in Whitehall and Petty France, except indeed for the words above, "the house which he held by his office."

37 Act of Oblivion. On April 4th the King had issued at Breda, in Holland, a "Gracious Declaration to all his Loving Subjects," in which he promised a Free and General Pardon to all, "excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament" On May 9th a "Bill of General Pardon, Indemnity and Oblivion" was introduced into the House of Commons, but lengthy discussions followed which kept a number of persons in anxious suspense, and it was not until August 29th that it became law All who had sat in judgment on the King were (wholly or partially) excepted from the benefits of this Act, as well as certain others of the most prominent Commonwealth-men Ten persons were put to death at once, and nineteen imprisoned for life, and there were a few subsequent executions

40 ^v Immediately co-operated, had a direct share in

Page 24 4 Milton's Defence On June 16th the House of Commons resolved that the King should be asked to call in Milton's *Erkonoklastes* and *Defence of the English People*, and also Goodwin's book, and have them burnt, that Milton and Goodwin should be taken into custody, and that the Attorney-General should have them prosecuted for these writings The Royal Proclamation asked for was issued on August 13th

Goodwin John Goodwin, a preacher of advanced republican views, had published in May, 1649, a treatise called "The Obstructors of Justice opposed, or a Discourse of the honourable sentence passed upon the late King by the High Court of Justice" He died in 1665

6 Burn them, etc. This was the greatest mark of disgrace that could be inflicted on a book for offending against the religion, the morals, or the politics of the time The custom of publicly burning books can be traced back to Greece, where we are told that a work of the philosopher Protagoras was so treated The Romans did the same from time to time, but it was in the Middle Ages that the practice became common in Europe, the author himself being occasionally added to the conflagration In England the first great occasion of book-burning was in 1521, when Cardinal Wolsey went in state to St Paul's, and supervised the burning of a number of Martin Luther's works, but the first printed work by an Englishman that was so treated was Tyndall's translation of the New Testament (1526), and probably the first English book burnt by the common hangman was Prynne's attack on the theatres and actors, called *Histrionastria* (1633), this additional mark of infamy being borrowed from the Continent Throughout the 17th century book-fires were exceedingly common, but in the 18th the practice began to die out, and probably the last book so treated in England was *The present Crisis with regard to America Considered* (1775) About that time quite a number of works symptomatic of the coming Revolution were condemned in France, the last being the Abbé Raynal's *Philosophical and Political History of European Establishments and Commerce in the Indies* (1781) For further information on this subject see Farrer's *Books Condemned to be Burnt*.

Attorney-general, the highest law-officer of the Crown

9 August 19, really the 29th see note above to page 23, line 37

The flutter, due to anxiety The long discussions in the two Houses of Parliament had caused a general feeling of insecurity amongst all who had had anything to do with the Commonwealth

10 Want, be wanting in He wished to recommend it to men's admiration and gratitude by the elegance of the language in which it was expressed, as well as by its clemency hence he called it an Act of *oblivion*, or forgetfulness, not one of *grace*, i.e., pardon, a title which would draw attention to the fact of offences having been committed Considering that the Act was one of "*Pardon, Indemnity, and Oblivion*," Johnson's enthusiasm is rather absurd.

13. Public trust, responsible office in the public service *Eighteen* persons, including Goodwin, were named under this head.

Of Milton, etc. He was not excepted from this indemnity in any way, either wholly or partially.

16. Burnet. Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715) was a clergyman who played a considerable part in Scotch politics under Charles II. During the reign of James II. he found it convenient to live abroad, but returned to England with William III, and was rewarded for his services by being made Bishop of Salisbury. The most important of his numerous works was the *History of his own Time*, published in 1723, which was at first bitterly attacked by Swift and others, whilst Johnson said of it, "I do not believe that Burnet intentionally lied, but he was so much prejudiced that he took no pains to find out the truth" (Boswell, ii. 213), but more recent investigations have tended to raise its historical value.

17 Dalrymple Sir John Dalrymple (1726-1810) was a Scotch lawyer and judge, who in 1771 published "Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, from the Dissolution of the last Parliament of Charles II until the Sea Battle of La Hogue" Johnson said of him that he seemed to be "an honest fellow for he tells equally what makes against both sides. But nothing can be poorer than his mode of writing, it is the mere bouncing of a schoolboy" (Boswell, ii. 210)

20 Must be, must have been, compare page 16, line 10

22. The House, the House of Commons

Marvel Andrew Marvell (1621-1678), poet and satirist, was Milton's colleague in the Latin Secretaryship from 1657 to 1660. After the Restoration he continued to sit in Parliament as member for Hull (though he seldom spoke in the debates) until his death in 1678. His pamphlets and satires are now seldom read: his finest work is the splendid "Horatian Ode upon Cromwell's Return from Ireland," containing a well-known description of Charles' execution.

Morrice Sir William Morrice, or Morice (1602-1676), sat in Parliament as member for Plymouth in 1658, and from 1660 to his death. Through his wife he was related to General Monk, who procured a Secretaryship of State and other favours for him from Charles II. In 1668 he resigned his office and retired to his estate.

23 Sir Thomas Clarges had acted as London correspondent to General Monk, who married his sister. In May, 1660, he conveyed to Charles (then in Holland) the invitation of the Parliament to return, and subsequently held various offices, sitting regularly in Parliament until his death in 1695.

24. Particular, detailed, circumstantial

25 Richardson Jonathan Richardson (died 1745) published in conjunction with his son "Explanatory Notes on *Paradise Lost*," together with a Life of Milton (1734).

Pope, Alexander Pope (1688-1744), the well-known poet

26. Betterton, Thomas Betterton, a celebrated actor and dramatist, who died in 1710 Richardson affirms that Betterton told Pope that he had as a boy been apprenticed to the bookseller John Holden: the latter had published Davenant's *Gondibert*, and was much in the author's confidence, but this does not go far in the way of authority for the story of Davenant and Milton

Davenant Sir William Davenant (1606-1668), poet and dramatist, succeeded Ben Jonson as Poet Laureate in 1638 He fought for the King in the Civil War, was captured in 1650, and confined for two years in the Tower, that he was in imminent peril of death we know, but the real reason of his escape is uncertain After the Restoration he resumed the management of a theatre, as well as his position as Laureate Apart from his plays, his principal work was *Gondibert* (published in 1651), a heroic romance, rather than an epic, of about 6,000 lines

30 Appearing, coming forward

32. Makes its own way, etc, readily finds belief

If help were wanted, if further evidence were required to corroborate the story coll

✓ 34 Relation, narrative

Of his escape, etc Cunningham says that he obtained his release through the intercession of Whitelocke, who has been mentioned in a previous note as Ambassador to Sweden Aubrey and Wood attribute his escape to the influence of two aldermen of York, whom Davenant had released on his own responsibility while serving under the Marquis of Newcastle.

35 No higher, to no authority more nearly contemporary with the events

✓ 39 Incapacitation He received no more serious punishment than that of being declared incapable of serving in any public office

41 Interest, influence

Page 25 1 Little more than verbal, because it rests with Government to appoint its officers, and by withholding such an appointment it can punish a man, whether any express law on the subject has been passed or not, such a law therefore, does not really add to the power of punishment which Government possesses

3 For, for the sake of, in consideration of

6 Disarmed by nature which had rendered him blind

"There is no greater historical puzzle," says Masson, "than this complete escape of Milton after the Restoration" Marvell and Davenant could not have effected much by themselves, since the former had little influence in the House of Commons, and the latter

was not even a member of it Hence Masson (vi. 187) concludes that "Milton's escape was the result of a powerful organization in his behalf, uniting a number of influences, and most skilfully and cunningly conducted."

7 The same condition, etc., i. e. , made him as free as they were.

9 Serjeant, the Serjeant-at-arms, an officer who attends on the House of commons to execute their orders This official had been directed by the Resolution of June 16th to arrest Milton, and apparently held that the order was not cancelled by the Bill of Indemnity, or at any rate hoped to get some fees out of his prisoner. When Milton was arrested, is not known—Masson thinks during the Parliamentary recess from September 13th to November 6th, but it was not until December 15th that the House ordered him to be released on payment of his fees He seems to have paid the money demanded, namely, £150, equal to about £500 now, but on December 17th Andrew Marvell complained that the fees demanded by the Serjeant-at-arms had been excessive, and the House directed the Committee for Privileges to call both Milton and the Serjeant before them, and to determine what was a fitting amount

✓ 13. Gripping, extortionate *of price*

15 Contended, disputed the demand. But that he knew, if he had not known

16 Jewin-street. He went first to a house in Holborn, though not the same as he had occupied in 1647 then, in the course of 1661, removed to a quieter neighbourhood in Jewin-street, close to his former Aldersgate-street and Barbican residences.

19 Dr Paget, Dr Nathan Paget, who had been a prominent physician in London for some time, and was well acquainted with Milton

Elizabeth Minshul, or Minshull, had been born in Cheshire in 1638, and was therefore twenty-four when she married Milton, February 24, 1663 "It was no marriage of romance, but it gave Milton an excellent wife, who was to do her duty by him most conscientiously during all the rest of his life" (Masson, vi 476). She was related in some way to Dr Paget

21 Be a second husband, that is, to marry a widow. "Let not the reader forget that Johnson himself had married a widow" (Cunningham)

23. Marriage, etc Such happiness as he enjoyed was for the most part due to other causes than those connected with marriage.

26. As Philips relates, apparently a mistake on Johnson's part, as it is *Richardson* who calls the third wife "a termagant." It has been supposed that his informant was Deborah, the youngest daughter, who was not on good terms with her mother-in-law see pages 33, 37, 39 and notes

27 Cheated them, etc This seems to be quite untrue Milton left only a "nuncupative" will, *i.e.*, a verbal declaration of his wishes, made to his brother Christopher To his "unkind children" he left the property which had come to him through their mother, Mary Powell, everything else was to go to his "loving wife, Elizabeth" But the daughters disputed the validity of this settlement, and finally a compromise was arrived at, by which the widow received two-thirds, and the children one-third of the property

28. An obscure story, related by Richardson, who had heard that "soon after the Restoration" such an offer was made to Milton. "Were the story true, the most probable date for it would be early in 1664, when Sir Richard Fanshawe, the King's Latin Secretary, was sent abroad on that embassy to Spain and Portugal in which he died But the thing seems incredible" (Masson, vi 638)

29. His employment, as Latin Secretary

31. Ride in your coach, *i.e.*, be rich enough to keep a carriage in which to drive about

✓ 35 Ministerial, that of a servant or subordinate if the duties were those of a clerk and nothing more.

✓ 37. Disquisition, a full discussion

38 Topicks of falsehood, subjects out of which false stories are manufactured

40 The new settlement, *i.e.*, the Government of the restored monarchy

Page 26, 2. 1661 This is the date given by Anthony Wood, but the real date of publication seems to have been 1669, subsequently, therefore, to the first edition of *Paradise Lost* He had very likely had the manuscript by him since his teaching days

Accidence, etc The title appears to mean "Accidence taking its place as Grammar," the two having previously been distinguished; similarly on page 16, line 35, we had "Cromwell commenced monarch," *i.e.*, took his place, or began to act, as monarch Milton says in his preface to this little Latin grammar that it had been a general complaint that a tenth part of a man's life was spent in learning Latin, and that very imperfectly, his remedy is to combine the Accidence and Syntax in one book, and to give the rules, *etc.*, in English, and not in Latin, as had been usual

8 Elwood the Quaker. Thomas Ellwood (1639-1713) was the son of a small squire in Oxfordshire To the disgust of his father he joined the Quakers, and, becoming anxious to mend the defects of his early education, procured an introduction to Milton through the Dr Paget who has already been mentioned

The Quakers (or, as they call themselves, the Society of Friends) are a Christian sect who originated with the preaching of George Fox, son of a Leicestershire weaver, in 1648 The impassioned

appeals of their earliest preachers induced tremblings and grovelings amongst the hearers, from which the name *Quaker* seems to have been derived They are remarkable for having no regular forms of worship and no regular priesthood they affect great simplicity of dress and manners, avoid "vain" amusements, and every form of swearing, including the legal oath, and are entirely opposed to war For a considerable time they were obnoxious to, and persecuted by, every form of government in England.

9 For the advantage, etc, in return for the advantage which Ellwood would derive from Milton's conversation

11 Hartlib. See note to page 3, line 41 The "letter" is the tract on Education

12 An English mouth, with the ordinary English pronunciation.

As ill a hearing, as unpleasant to listen to

Law French, the corrupt Norman-French used by lawyers

Required, etc "He told me, if I would have the benefit of the Latin tongue, not only to read and understand Latin authors, but also to converse with foreigners, I must learn the foreign pronunciation To this I consenting, he instructed me how to sound the vowels, so different from the common pronunciation used by the English that, with some few other variations the Latin thus spoken seemed as different as if it were another language" (Ellwood)

15 Without use, and at the same time without any particular advantage On this point the majority of modern English educationists probably side with Milton, rather than with Johnson's obstinate conservatism, and in many of the great English schools the old barbarous pronunciation of Latin has been replaced by a reformed method

23 Attendance, attention to Milton's advice, the word is now obsolete in this sense Ellwood says that this change of pronunciation made it, at first, harder for him to read than it was before to understand what was read, but "incessant pains the end obtains"

24 Curious ear, a very delicate sense of hearing

26 Open, explain Compare *St Luke*, xxiv 32 — "And they said one to another, Did not our heart burn within us while he *opened* to us the Scriptures?"

27 Artillery Walk, a row of houses with gardens, running past the wall of the Artillery Ground, or exercising ground of the London Artillery Company, and leading to the open space called Bunhill Fields The Walk is now called Bunhill Row, and the whole neighbourhood has been densely built on The new residence was at no great distance from Milton's last house, and the move was probably effected early in 1664

31. Was now busied, etc He had begun *Paradise Lost* seriously in 1658, and in Masson's opinion had probably completed two books before he went to live in Jewin-street in 1661. The whole was composed by the middle of 1665.

34. An Italian tragedy In 1727 Voltaire suggested that Milton had seen in Italy a Scriptural play, called *Adamo*, by a certain Andreini, and that "piercing through the absurdity of the performance to the hidden majesty of the subject, he took from that ridiculous trifle the first hint of the noblest work which the human imagination has ever attempted" The *Adamo* was a drama in five Acts, representing the Fall of Man, "and is not destitute of vivacity and other merits, so that if Milton did read it, or see it performed, he may have retained a pretty strong recollection of it" (Masson) The Anglo-Saxon poem which goes under the name of Caedmon, and of which a text was published in 1655, and *Lucifer*, a five-act play in Dutch by Joost Van den Vondel, published in 1654, have also been suggested as sources from which Milton may have derived suggestions But why an Englishman and a Puritan should need to go to such writers for the notion of a poem on the Fall of Man, it is difficult to see, "was not the subject," asks Masson, "already necessarily in Milton's daily thoughts? was not the mind of England and the whole Christian world full of it?" And Mark Pattison (chap. xiii) concludes that the subject "was not so much Milton's choice as his necessity Among all the traditions of the peoples of the earth there is not extant another story which could have been adequate to his demands" The whole question of Milton's indebtedness to others is discussed at great length by Masson, *Poetical Works*, Introduction to *Paradise Lost*, and more briefly by Pattison, 177-179, 201-207

35. Voltaire, the celebrated French poet, dramatist, historian, philosopher, and sceptic (1694-1778)

36. Farce, an inferior kind of comedy, full of absurd and ludicrous incidents The reference is to the play just called a "tragedy," Andreini's *Adamo*, which has been translated into English by Cowper (see Southey's Cowper, vol. x) The play opens with a Chorus of Angels singing—

"To Heaven's bright lyre let Iris be the bow,
Adapt the spheres of chords, for notes the stars," etc.

37. Fiddlestick, the "bow" which is drawn across the strings of the fiddle, or violin

Already shown, on page 20

38. Not of, i. e., the first conception was not of, etc

Page 27. 1. Had promised See page 6

4. Survey of his attainments, reckoning up of all that he had learnt by reading and observation

5 Difficult to determine The Milton MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, contain a list of nearly one hundred possible subjects, noted down by Milton between 1639 and 1642. Sixty of these are Scriptural, whilst thirty-three are derived from English history, and five from Scotch But amongst them all *Paradise Lost* was evidently his favourite, as Johnson's quotations on pages 25-27 show

6 Long chusing, etc. Already quoted on page 19. Pattison (page 178) remarks that biographers seem to have been misled by this expression "He did not begin till 1658, when he was already fifty, and it has been somewhat hastily inferred that he did not choose till the date at which he began But, as we have seen, he had already chosen at least as early as 1642, when the plan of a drama on the subject, and under the title, of *Paradise Lost* was fully developed In the interval between 1642 and 1658 he changed the form from a drama to an epic, but his choice remained unaltered. And as the address to the Sun (*Paradise Lost*, iv 32) was composed at the earlier of these dates, it appears that he had formulated even rhythm and cadence of the poem that was to be "

✓ 10 Episodes, subordinate incidents or narratives, arising out of the main story, and introduced in order to give variety to it, from the Greek *ep- eis- odos*, a coming in besides

✓ 11 Images, similes and metaphors

Sentiments, expressions of opinion about men and things.

✓ 14 Statesman, engaged in the service of the state, we should hardly apply the term now to a secretary such as Milton was

15. Had no need, etc "Uncommon expedients" attract attention, and so get recorded by biographers and others, but as Milton then had no need to have recourse to them, nothing is recorded of his operations

16 Stations, offices.

Not to be traced, etc , he is still so great a man that curious enquirers have discovered a number of details about his mode of life in his retirement, such as those reported by Richardson (see note to page 24, line 25) The first description quoted by Johnson had been heard by Richardson "many years since," the second, he says, was told him by "an aged clergyman in Dorsetshire, Dr Wright " The words *traced* and *found* are not to be taken literally

✓ 21 Parts, talents, abilities.

✓ Quality, rank, social position Besides Marvell, Paget, and Ellwood, Masson (vi 637) mentions Dryden the poet, his brother-in-law Sir Robert Howard, the Earl of Anglesey, the Dowager Lady Ranelagh, John Aubrey, etc Aubrey remarks that "Milton was visited much by the learned, more than he did desire "

24 Wood See note to page 12, line 12

27 Cloaths, used in the 18th century for both *clothes* and *cloths*, the distinction between which belongs to the present century

✓ Hung with rusty green, with faded green hangings on the walls

✓ 28 Cadaverous, ghastly pale, like a dead body (Latin *cadaver*, a corpse)

✓ Chalkstones, a chalklike concretion, consisting mainly of sodium urate, found in and about the small joints, the external ear, and other situations, in those suffering from gout (Webster) *disease*

31 The common exercises, such as walking, of which Milton was very fond, whether in his own garden or in the neighbourhood

32. Swing in a chair "Some kind of swinging machine served him for more artificial exercise within doors in wet weather" (Mason) Toland says that "he had a pulley to swing and keep him in motion"

✓ 33 Organ, the musical instrument of that name Of this, and of the bass viol, Milton was very fond

39 This gave, etc Those whom he employed to do his writing would be able to see and report what work he was engaged on, and how he was getting on with it

41 Composure, composition The word is now only used in the sense of a composed and tranquil state of the feelings or behaviour

Page 28 3 Parcels, small portions, the word being derived through French from a diminutive form of the Latin *pars*, a part or portion

4 Whatever hand came next, next, that is, to the time of their composition, by any one who happened to be present

5 Orthography and pointing, the spelling and the use of stops. *Orthography* comes from the Greek *orthos*, right, and *graphein*, to write, and *pointing* is etymologically the same as *punctuation*

✓ 8 His vein, etc, he was not in a suitable mood for successful composition, except, etc, *vein* (by a metaphor derived from veins of metal running through a rock) standing for the poetical side of his fancy, and *happily* meaning 'successfully' or 'satisfactorily'

Autumnal Equinox, etc, i.e., from the end of September to the end of March Cowper also seems to have found himself most fertile in winter, he attributes it to the want of other occupations at that season of the year

✓ 10 Courted his fancy, appealed to his imagination, tried to stimulate it into action

Never so much What has at no other time been courted so much, must be courted in the highest possible degree, so that the expression

means "though he courted it as much as possible," or simply, "however much he courted it" We now use *ever so much* in exactly the same sense.

13. Relation, narrative.

Toland See note to page 23, line 6

14 In his *Elegies*, in the fifth elegy "On the approach of Spring," written at the age of twenty. Here, after speaking of the reviving Earth, he continues *Fallor ? an et nobis redeunt in carmina vires ?* "Am I mistaken, or does strength also return to my verses?" To this argument of Toland's Johnson makes a very reasonable reply, Milton was no longer twenty, and increasing years may have brought about this as well as other changes in him Philips' account is confirmed by what Milton's wife used to state after her husband's death, as well as by Aubrey, to whom Philips had made the same statement years before he printed it himself.

25. Ebbs and flows, a metaphor from the tides of the sea, ebbing and flowing in dependance on the moon.

26 Fumes, etc., mere idle fancies, as airy and unsubstantial as fumes, *i. e.*, vapours or exhalations (Latin *fumus*, smoke),

Johnson speaks with similar contempt of Gray, who "had a notion, not very peculiar, that he could not write but at certain times, or at happy moments, a fantastick foppery, to which my kindness for a man of learning and of virtue wishes him to have been superior "

Sapiens, etc., "the wise man will be master of the stars," a saying ascribed (according to Deighton) to one of the Ptolemies, the Macedonian kings of Egypt, instead of believing that he is under the influence of the heavenly bodies, as astrology teaches, the philosopher will regard himself as superior to them

27 Weather-bound, prevented from writing freely by the nature of the weather, or the time of year, literally, prevented by bad weather from putting to sea.

28 Hellebore, a plant which was supposed by the ancients to cure mental delusions and insanity. Pliny mentions that it was also frequently taken by literary men and students, with a view to stimulating their intellectual powers.

31. Possunt, etc., they find it possible because they think it possible, Virgil, *Aeneid*, v 231

32 Enforced, strengthened, stimulated.

33 Cross, contrary, adverse

✓ 35 Prepossessions, prejudices.

36 There prevailed, etc This opinion is said to have been put forward by Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, in a book called *The Fall of Man, or the Corruption of Nature proved by the Light of Natural Reason*, published in 1616.

- ✓ 38 Decrepitude of Nature, when Nature was become *decrepit*, i.e., broken down with age and worn out.

The whole creation, all created things

Page 29 2 An age too late, The quotation is from *Paradise Lost*, ix 41-47.—

“Me, of these
Nor skilled, nor studious, higher argument
Remains, sufficient of itself to raise
That name, unless an age too late, or cold
Climate, or years, damp my intended wing
Deprest, and much they may, if all be mine,
Not hers who brings it nightly to my ear”

Mr Ryland also quotes a somewhat similar passage from the *Reason of Church Government*, book 11, where Milton says, “if there be nothing adverse in our climate or the fate of our age.” Macaulay has some remarks on this matter in his Essay on Milton “We venture to say that no poet has ever had to struggle with more unfavourable circumstances than Milton. He doubted, as he himself has owned, whether he had not been born *an age too late*. For this notion Johnson has thought fit to make him the butt of much clumsy ridicule. The poet, we believe, understood the nature of his art better than the critic. He knew that his poetical genius derived no advantage from the civilisation which surrounded him, or from the learning which he had acquired, and he looked back with something like regret to the ruder age of simple words and vivid impressions.” This is in accordance with Macaulay’s paradoxical thesis that “as civilisation advances, poetry almost necessarily declines.” It does not altogether agree, however, with the passage quoted from the *Reason of Church Government* on page 10, where Milton mentions amongst the qualifications necessary for the poet “industrious and select reading, steady observation, and insight into all seemingly and generous affairs.”

- ✓ Herick poesy, epic poetry, because in it were celebrated the deeds of heroes. *Poesy* comes from the Greek *poesis*, a making (of verses), whilst the more common word *poetry* is derived from *poet*, the Greek *poietes*, a maker

6 In a degree, etc., in a country too far to the north or the south of the favoured regions. The higher degrees of latitude are those which are nearer to the respective poles, the lower are those in the neighbourhood of the equator

8 The climate, etc. See the passage quoted above from *Paradise Lost*, ix

16 General causes, etc. The supposed influence of the seasons was something peculiar to himself, and therefore might be reasonably taken into account, but a decay of Nature or the coldness of the climate would affect all his contemporaries equally with himself, and if his composing powers fell off, so would their critical powers, and there was therefore no reason to complain.

19 Frosty, because living in a "frigid zone," which chilled and depressed their intellectual energy

✓ 20 Grovellers, mean and degenerate creatures To *grovel*, literally, is to lie on the ground in token of abject submission

21. They should not, etc Already quoted on page 6, line 7.

✓ 24 In the dwindle of posterity, as successive generations dwindled more and more, *i. e.*, became feebler and feebler This use of *dwindle* as a substantive, in the sense of 'the process of dwindling, or declining,' is very rare

25. Pygmies, dwarfs, originally a fabulous race of dwarfs mentioned by Homer and other Greek writers as living in Africa, where they used to fight with cranes They were so called because they were the height of a *pygme*, the distance between the elbow and the knuckles.

The one-eyed, etc, an allusion to the proverb, "Among the blind the one-eyed is king," or, in its Latin form, *Beati monoculi in regione caecorum*

26 Artifices, methods; not in its usual modern sense of 'cunning devices' The *N E D* quotes an example from Burke, "examine into the *artifice* of the contrivance," *i. e.*, the mode of its workmanship.

✓ 29 Discovers, discloses, shows

✓ Discriminated, different.

✓ 32. Impetus, impulse, rush (Latin)

| Œstrum, for the Latin and Greek word *æsthus*, a gadfly, the bite of which drives horses and cattle to frenzy; hence the name was used metaphorically for 'frenzy,' especially the frenzy of poetical inspiration

33 Secure what came, to make sure of what he had composed, by writing it down

Milton's eldest daughter could not write, the other two may have written for him portions of *Paradise Lost*, but they were by no means his only assistants His widow used to relate that, on her husband's waking in the morning, he would make her write down sometimes twenty or thirty verses There were many other people about him also, and Philips has already told us that the various portions of the work were written "by whatever hand came next"

34 Reduce them, etc. Masson "cannot conceive this ever to have been his habit" (vi 456) Johnson also appears inclined to reject the story see the next page.

✓ 36 Involutions of darkness, periods when his poetical faculty was involved, or wrapped, in darkness.

37 Retrocessions To retrocede is to go backwards, or retreat.

38 Train, course, order.

Page 30 2 Is out, appears to have lost its skill, and refuses to do its work properly

Relation, narrative Casually conveyed, related in a casual manner Richardson does not state his authority for these details, hence Masson, as well as Johnson, hesitates about accepting all of them

3 Regard, attention

His intellectual hour, the times when his intellect was actively engaged in composition

4 His daughters, etc This was only true of the eldest the other two could write, though the second one only moderately well

8 Disburthening his memory, relieving it of the strain of remembering the verses he had composed (Visitors) as now usually written visitors

10 Reducing his exuberance, by compressing what he had written into a smaller number of lines. Compare what Johnson says of Virgil in the *Life of Pope* — "It is related of Virgil that his custom was to pour out a great number of verses in the morning, and pass the day in retrenching exuberances and correcting inaccuracies "

✓ 12 Gratuitously, without sufficient evidence

16 Unpremeditated verse From *Paradise Lost*, ix 21-24 —

"My celestial patroness, who deigns
Her nightly visitation unimplored,
And dictates to me slumbering, or inspires
Easy my unpremeditated verse "

✓ 17. The distresses of rhyme, the difficulties involved in the use of rhyme.

21 The beginning, etc The third book begins with the celebrated invocation of Light, after which Milton proceeds—

"Thee I revisit safe,
And feel thy sovran vital lamp, but thou
Revisit'st not these eyes, that roll in vain
To find thy piercing ray, and find no dawn,
So thick a drop serene hath quenched their orbs,
Or dim suffusion veiled "

See the whole passage, *Paradise Lost*, iii 1-55

22 The Introduction, etc The seventh book begins with an invocation of the Heavenly Muse, Urania, in the course of which Milton says—

"Standing on earth, not rapt above the pole,
More safe I sing with mortal voice, unchanged

To hoarse or mute, though fallen on evil days,
On evil days though fallen, and evil tongues,
In darkness, and with dangers compassed round,
And solitude "

See *Paradise Lost*, vii, 23-28

✓ 23 Clouded, had thrown darkness and gloom over him. With discountenance, owing to his now being out of favour with the party in power

25. Notes of time, indications of the time at which particular portions were composed

26 Cleared, etc , safe from the consequences which might have been expected to follow from his support of the Commonwealth.

✓ 29 Skulked, hid himself. The word is now spelt *Skulked* and conveys a contemptuous insinuation that the manner of hiding is sneaking and cowardly.

31. Finds himself, i e , professes to find himself. Johnson denies that there was any real danger

Fallen, etc See the passage quoted above from *Paradise Lost*, vii, 23-28 As Deighton says, there is nothing to show that when these lines were written Milton could feel himself free from danger. Richardson states that "he was in perpetual terror of being assassinated, and was so dejected that he would lie awake whole nights, and kept himself as private as he could " To which Masson adds that "the resentment of some fanatic royalist at his escape from the gallows might easily have taken the form of knocking the blind man down in the streets, or stabbing him in his house " (vi 215)

Lord Byron (in the *Dedication* prefixed to *Don Juan*) quotes Milton's words in a different spirit —

"If, fallen in evil days on evil tongues,
Milton appealed to the Avenger, Time,
If Time, the Avenger, execrates his wrongs,
And makes the word *Miltonic* mean *sublime*," etc

33 Had, would have, if he had used his sight for better purposes whilst he had it, we should have pitied him more for losing it.

35 Evil, i e., from a regicide's point of view

1 Spared, failed to use Asperity, harshness, bitterness Compare Pattison, page 66 — "Milton does not refute opponents, put ses enemies Yet his rage, even when most delirious, is always Miltonic rage, it is grand, sublime, terrible" Mingled with the irritities are passages of the noblest English ever written."

Page 31. 2 Ludicrous, in the form of ridicule, compare page 23, line 12

7. Wit, man of genius.

9 Bucks, a common abbreviation of Buckinghamshire The cottage which Ellwood took for Milton still exists, "a very small cottage indeed, with a very small garden, standing on the slope of the public road at one end of the quiet old village of Chalfont, about twenty-three miles from London" (Masson)

11 Thou It is the practice of the Quakers to use this word where the ordinary Englishman says "You"

Just before Milton's arrival at Chalfont, Ellwood was thrown into prison, with some other Quakers, in accordance with the harsh and intolerant proceedings of those days On his release, he tells us, he soon paid Milton a visit "to welcome him into the country. After some discourses had passed between us, he called for a manuscript of his, which being brought he delivered to me, bidding me take it home with me and read it at my leisure, and when I had so done, return it to him with my judgment thereon" This was the manuscript of *Paradise Lost*

✓ 14 Designed, made preparations for In September of this year (1666) occurred the Great Fire of London, by which Milton was a sufferer, since it destroyed the house in Bread-street in which he was born, and from which he had enjoyed a steady income for many years past Whether it was before or after this that he began his preparations for the publication of his poem, is not known.

A license was necessary A very stringent system of censorship had been revived by the Press Act of 1662 Books of general literature had to be licensed by the Secretary of State, the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of London, "but it was exceptional for any of these dignitaries to perform the duty in person It was chiefly performed for them by a staff of underlicensors, paid by fees

..Whether an author could choose his own licenser, or whether manuscript's had to be left at some appointed place, thence to be distributed amongst the members of the licensing staff, does not appear very distinctly" (Masson, *Life*, vi 506) At any rate, Milton's MS came before the Rev Thomas Tomkyns, domestic chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury

18 The simile, etc See *Paradise Lost*, l 594-599 —

"As when the sun new risen
Looks through the horizontal misty air
Shorn of his beams, or from behind the moon
In dim eclipse disastrous twilight sheds
On half the nations, and with fear of change
Perplexes monarchs "

This story rests only on the authority of Toland, who says that the world "had like to be eternally deprived of this treasure by the ignorance or malice of the licencer, who, amongst other frivolous exceptions, would needs suppress the whole poem for imaginary treason" in the above lines, in which (if the story is true

at all) the objectionable part was the reference to monarchs being threatened with "change," i.e., revolutions. But, as Masson says, "one would think that Tomkyns might have found passages more dangerous to Church and State than this."

20. Copy, the technical term for a manuscript intended to be printed from. Mr Deighton explains it as meaning "copyright," but the agreement between Milton and Simmons repeatedly refers to "all that Booke, Copy, or Manuscript of a Poem," and to "the said Copy or Manuscript." Lower down (page 31, line 36), no doubt, the word does mean 'copyright'.

Simmons was a bookseller in only a small way of business in Aldersgate-street, but he was probably a relative of the Mathew Simmons, who had published Milton's *Martin Bucer, Tenure of Kings, Observations on Ormond's Peace*, and *Erkonoklastes*. The big booksellers, whose shops centred round St Paul's, had lost heavily by the destruction of their premises and stocks in the Fire, Pepys estimating that one hundred and fifty thousand pounds worth of books were burnt in that neighbourhood, so that "all the great booksellers were almost undone."

21. To receive, that he should receive.

27. Was ten books, i.e., the poem as first published was divided into ten books.

Quarto. See note on *folios*, page 19, line 20

Titles, title-pages Masson (*Poetical Works*, ii 12, 13) gives nine distinct forms of title-page found in copies of the First Edition, issued between August, 1667, and 1669, and this list probably does not exhaust the variations. The printing of those days was so leisurely that it was common for the printer or author to make additions and corrections while the printing was in progress, of which corrections only part of the total impression would have the benefit.

28. Arguments, summaries of the contents of the respective books. Some of the copies dated 1668 have a three-line advertisement—"The Printer to the Reader. Courteous Reader, there was no Argument at first intended to the Book, but for the satisfaction of many that have desired it, is procured S Simmons." Then follow the prose arguments to the various books. In other copies this ungrammatical advertisement is corrected and expanded, by adding after "desired it" the words—"I have procured it, and withal a reason of that which stumbled many others, why the Poem Rimes not."

32. Octavo. See note on *folios*, page 19, line 20

34. Twelfth, a curious slip on Johnson's part for *tenth*. The last part of book vii., together with three new introductory lines, formed book viii., the former books viii and ix., of course, now became ix. and x respectively, and the original x. was divided so as to make books xi. and xii., the latter being introduced by five new lines.

Other small improvements, such as breaking up the long Argument prefixed to the whole work into separate portions prefixed to the respective books. Two sets of commendatory verses were added, one of them by Andrew Marvell; and some copies, at any rate, contain a portrait of the author

35 To whom, etc, to whom the *copyright* was to pass after her husband's death (we now usually speak of 'devolving on, or upon') Here *copy* means what we call *copyright*, *i.e.*, the right to publish the work.

38 Brabazon Aylmer was a well-known bookseller, with a shop in Cornhill, and a larger business than Simmons. He had published Milton's *Familiar Letters* in 1674

39 Jacob Tonson, the first of the three famous publishers named Tonson. He had dealings with Dryden, Addison, Pope, and many other well-known writers of the time, and died a very wealthy man in 1736. Dryden, at a time when the poet and the publisher were not on very good terms, described him as—

“ With leering looks, bull-faced, and freckled fair,
With two left legs, and Judas-coloured hair,
And frowsy pores that taint the ambient air ”

According to an anecdote preserved by Spence, Tonson once said that *Paradise Lost* was the book that had brought him most profit. Simmons' copy of his original agreement with Milton came into the possession of the Tonson family, it then passed through various hands, until it was bought for a hundred guineas by Samuel Rogers, the poet, who presented it to the British Museum in 1852.

41 Deduction, the tracing of the successive steps of the book's history

Page 32 4. Late reception, the length of time which it took to win its way into popular favour

9 Solicited favour or fashion, was anxious to gain the favour of the Court, or to be regarded as a man of fashion

12. Reverential silence, a respectful abstention from attacks or hostile criticism of the work

15 Justify the publick, clear the public of the charge of neglecting so great a work For this use of *justify*, compare Shakespeare, *II Henry VI*, II. 3 16—“I cannot justify whom the law condemns,” *i.e.*, declare to be innocent

17 Call, demand

21 A closet of knowledge, a small room in which knowledge is stored, *i.e.*, a library

Professed learning, were scholars or learned men by profession.

24. For accomplishment, to complete their mental equipment, and fit themselves for the society of people of culture.

25. Typography (literally, writing by types), the art of printing.'

26 Paucity, fewness, from the Latin paucus, few

The first folio edition of Shakespeare was published in 1623, the second in 1632, the third in 1664. To the edition of 1632 were prefixed Milton's lines on Shakespeare, his first printed performance

31 New to all, etc Blank verse was not exactly "new," since it had been constantly used in dramatic pieces; but the rhyming heroic couplet had quite driven it out of fashion. Milton defends his use of blank verse in a note prefixed to the poem, the subject is discussed by Johnson later on

32 Disgusting does not mean more than 'distanteful' here; it occurs again in the same mild sense on page 42

Prevalence, the manner in which genius prevails over obstacles.

35 Only three thousand, etc "It would hardly however be said, even in this age, of a poem, 3,000 copies of which had been sold in eleven years, that its success had been small, and I have some few doubts whether *Paradise Lost*, if published eleven years since, would have met with a greater demand Milton took his place among great poets from the beginning The fancy of Johnson that few dared to praise it, and that *the Revolution put an end to the secrecy of love* is without foundation, the Government of Charles II was not so absurdly tyrannical, nor did Dryden, the Court's own poet, hesitate soon after Milton's death to speak of *Paradise Lost* as undoubtedly one of the greatest, most noble, and most sublime poems which the nation had produced" (Hallam). Dryden, in fact, lost no opportunity of eulogising Milton, and before the Revolution the poem had already been translated into Latin and German At the same time, it must be confessed that Cunningham produces a good deal of evidence on the other side the dislike of the clergy (who might have been expected to encourage a religious work) for Milton was expressed by Sprat (see page 36), a writer (Prior) in 1687 calls Milton "a rough, unhewn fellow, that a man must sweat to read him," Blackmore, Dennis, Arbuthnot, Swift, and many others agree that for years *Paradise Lost* was "entirely disregarded" If we look at the number of editions, we find that Blackmore's *Prince Arthur* went through three editions in two years; Patrick's *Pilgrim* through six in 1678; Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* through two in the same year, and through eight by 1682, whilst Cleveland's poems ran through sixteen or seventeen editions in about thirty years. In fact, the evidence seems so conflicting that no certain conclusion is possible.

Page 33 1 Price of the copy. As Johnson has already recorded, Simmons sold the copyright at an advanced rate to Aylmer, and Aylmer to Tonson "at a price considerably enlarged." The fourth edition appeared in 1688, the year of the Revolution.

The Revolution, that of 1688, by which Milton's enemies, the Stuarts, were driven from the throne

2 Put an end, etc Those who admired the book were no longer obliged to keep their love for it a secret See Hallam's comment on this remark, quoted in a note above

9 Consciousness of that merit

15 Of man's estate, i e, grown up, adults, contrasted with the "others of younger years" mentioned later.

16 Catched This form has been superseded by *caught* in the present century in the usage of educated persons, but still survives amongst the uneducated and in local dialects

18 Oblige him, confer a kindness upon him The as well as is equivalent to "not only oblige him. but also benefit themselves "

19 To the same end, with the same object

20 Her bodily infirmity Anne, the eldest daughter, is said to have been "lame and with a defect in her speech, but with a very handsome face."

21 Doubt, suspect.

23 Of, We should now omit this, or say 'the exact pronunciation of'

25 Syriac, a Semitic dialect, forming the Western branch of the so-called Aramaic language (the Eastern being the Chaldaic). It was commonly spoken in Palestine and its neighbourhood in the time of Christ, and was extensively employed for theological purposes by both the Jews and the early Christians, since Hebrew had ceased to be the spoken language

26 Confined, bound down, obliged.

29 Irsomeness, tediousness, wearisomeness.

✓ 32 Curious elaborately and skilfully worked a sense of the word which is now obsolete.

33 Proper, suitable.

The training in languages described by Philips seems to have taken place in the house in Jewin-street, and "there were girls then, and there have been girls since, who could have turned such training to account, however sternly given, and emerged from it as highminded and unusually learned women" (Masson). But such was not the case with Milton's daughters, and they were soon in a state of secret rebellion. It was stated on oath after the poet's death that "all his said children did combine together and counsel his maid-servant to cheat him in her marketings," and that "his said childr n had made away some of his books, and would have

sold the rest of his books to the dunghill women " When the second daughter, Mary, heard of her father's intended third marriage, "the said Mary replied that that was no news, to hear of his wedding, but if she could hear of his death, *that* was something " This state of affairs continued until 1670 or thereabouts, when they were at last sent out of the house to learn these "curious arts," their respective ages being 24, 22, and 18 "This may have been the stepmother's suggestion. The step, at all events, was a wise one, and ought to have been taken before .The industry chosen seems to have been the most open and promising in those days for girls calling themselves gentlewomen The expense to Milton for their boarding-out and apprenticeship was, we are informed, very heavy" (Masson, *Life*, vi 630)

✓ 40. Wanted, been without

Page 34 2 History of England, published in 1670 See page 19, and Masson, vi 642-649

Fable, the fabulous narrative.

Geoffrey of Monmouth was born about the beginning of the 12th century, and was consecrated Bishop of St Asaph (in Wales) in 1152, but died in 1154 without having visited his diocese As a scholar, he seems to have been equipped with all the learning of his age, and his great work, the *History of the Britons*, marked an epoch in the literary history of Europe, not that it is a sober history, but because it supplied material for the romances of Arthur and his Round Table, Merlin, Lear, Cymbeline, *etc.* Many abridgements and translations of the work appeared, and besides Milton, Shakespeare, Dryden, Pope, Wordsworth and Tennyson have all been indebted to it.

8. Again fixed his claws, as if he were some savage beast or bird of prey Though Johnson says *again*, it will be remembered that no harm had been done to *Paradise Lost*, even if it is true that some slight objections were raised at first.

9. Some censures, etc. This is stated by Toland, writing in 1698.

11. The Long Parliament, so called because it sat from 1640 to 1653.

12. Assembly of Divines, the Westminster Assembly, see page 12.

13 The Earl of Anglesea, Arthur Annesley (1614-1686), created Earl of Anglesea in 1661 as a reward for his exertions on the royalist side in the negotiations which led to the Restoration He had previously done good service to the Parliament in Ireland, and as President of the Council of State in 1660 After the Restoration he used his influence on the side of lenity, and it was largely owing to him and his party that the change was almost bloodless. He is described as a laborious, skilful, cautious and moderate official, on the whole honest and independent in action, and as a

sound lawyer, with a high reputation for scholarship. He was, perhaps, the first peer who devoted time and money to forming a large library.

Afterwards published. In 1681, seven years after Milton's death, there appeared a small quarto professing to contain his character of the Parliament and Assembly, which had been expunged from his *History*. That he should have discussed the Long Parliament in the middle of an account of the ancient Britons is a somewhat peculiar circumstance in itself, but a more serious difficulty is that these added paragraphs are an *attack* on both the Parliament and the Assembly, and though Milton had spoken bitterly enough of the Presbyterian divines, the language applied to the Parliament is, in Masson's opinion, absolutely at variance with his previous expressions of reverence for the persons and acts of that body. Moreover, these do not answer to Philips' and Toland's descriptions of the suppressed passages. For Philips says "some passages only excepted, which being thought too sharp against the clergy could not pass the hand of the licenser, and were in the hands of the late Earl of Anglesey, while he lived," &c., until 1686, he adds that it was Milton himself who gave the papers to the Earl, who frequently visited him. This agrees with Toland's reference to the Saxon clergy, but it does not explain how a licenser in 1670, when the monarchy and episcopacy were restored, came to object to an attack upon the Parliament and the Presbyterians, who had overturned both for a time. See the discussion of the matter in Masson, *Life*, vi. 306-812.

15 *Paradise Regained*. This and the *Samson* were issued in one volume, dated 1671, but perhaps published at the end of 1670, as it was licensed by the same Tomkyns as early as July in that year.

Samson Agonistes. In the list of possible subjects for a tragedy, noted by Milton about 1640 and preserved at Cambridge, there occur two titles connected with the Biblical account of Samson, namely, "Samson Pursophorus, or Hybristes, or Samson Marrying, or Ramath-Lechi," and "Dagonalia," but no details of any proposed plot are appended. It was probably his own history, and especially his blindness, which led the poet back to this subject in after-life (see Masson, *Works*, ii. 581, 582).

16 The ancients, i.e., the Greeks. In a notice prefixed to the poem Milton draws attention to the fact that it is not an ordinary play (the licentious nature of the Restoration drama is well known), but modelled on the works of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, and, not being intended for the stage, it is not divided into acts and scenes.

18 Another bookseller, namely, John Starkey, of the Mitre, in Fleet-street, whose name also occurs on the title-page of Milton's *Accidence commenced Grammar*. The greater part of the first edition of *Paradise Lost*, had been sold by April, 1669; but, for some reason or other, Simmons issued no second edition until 1674,

and Masson suggests that it may have been owing to dissatisfaction on Milton's part with this delay, that he did not entrust *Paradise Regained* to Simmons

25 The question Compare page 31, line 11 At the time the question was put Ellwood relates that Milton made no answer, "but sate some time in a muse, then brake off that discourse and fell upon another subject" Masson considers that there is no reason for doubting Ellwood's account of the genesis of this poem

26. Had not, should not have.

28 Elwood. This appears to be a slip on Johnson's part for *Philips*, who says that *Paradise Regained* "is generally censured to be much inferior to *Paradise Lost*, though Milton could not hear with patience any such thing when related to him" This has been exaggerated by subsequent writers into the assertion that Milton *preferred* the second poem to the first. "We may safely say," remarks Masson, "that he knew better than to do any such thing."

36. Had it to himself, shared it with no one, *z c*, no one agreed with him in preferring *Paradise Regained* to *Paradise Lost*.

39 The meanest services Mr Ryland quotes Wordsworth's well-known Sonnet on Milton—

"Thy soul was like a star, and dwelt apart,
Thou hadst a voice whose sound was like the sea,
Pure as the naked Heavens, majestic, free,
So didst thou travel on life's common way
In cheerful godliness, and yet thy heart
The lowliest duties on herself did lay"

40 Controvertist. See note to page 16, line 32.

41 Accommodate, to furnish with something required, to meet the wants of.

Rudiments, the first principles of knowledge The reference is to his *Accidence*

Page 35 6 Ramus Pierre de la Ramée, or Petrus Ramus (1515-1572), was a distinguished professor in the University of Paris, who became a Protestant and attacked the traditional Aristotelian Logic, which had come to be closely bound up with the cause of Roman Catholicism The Ramist Logic was adopted by many of the Protestant Universities, and had been taught at Cambridge, where Milton may have first sketched out the work published in 1672 Ramus himself perished in the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew, August 24, 1572

7 Oppugners (pronounced *oppu-ners*), assailants, opponents, from the Latin *oppugnare*, to fight against

8 The schools, the philosophical schools in which the "scholastic," or Aristotelian, philosophy had been predominant throughout the Middle Ages

9. Polemical, controversial, literally, warlike, from the Greek *polemos*, war

10 A Treatise, published in 1673, without the printer's name, and with only the initials *J M* By a Declaration of Indulgence (March 1672) suspending the penal laws against Nonconformists, Charles II had stirred up a wave of Anti-Popery feeling which in March, 1673, led the Parliament to cancel the Declaration and to pass a Test Act, disqualifying Roman Catholics from holding any public office The crisis called forth a number of pamphlets, amongst them Milton's, which Masson calls "a very plain and simple, not to say feeble, performance" (vi 693)

14 Thirty-nine Articles See note to page 4, line 23

15 The sufficiency, etc, the doctrine that the Bible contains all that is necessary for salvation "True Religion," says Milton, "is the true worship and service of God, learnt and believed from the Word of God only No man or angel can know how God would be worshipped and served, unless God reveal it He hath revealed and taught it us in the Holy Scriptures. with strictest command to reject all other traditions or additions whatever"

18 Other testimonies, such as the opinions of the Fathers, and the decrees of Councils and Popes To 'take up a religion from such traditions of men and additions to the word of God' is Milton's definition of "hersey"

20 Conscience, etc, those dictates of conscience which cannot be justified by the authority of Scripture Milton says that the "idolatrous" worship of the Romanists cannot be tolerated publicly, "without grievous and unsufferable scandal given to all conscientious beholders," nor yet privately, "without great offence to God."

24 One of the Pope's bulls Milton is punning on the word *bull*, which means (1) a Papal edict, so called from the leaden seal (Latin *bullā*) attached to it, (2) an expression containing an absurd contradiction or inconsistency in the terms, often not noticed by the speaker, and supposed to be peculiarly characteristic of Irishmen The origin of this sense of the word is declared by the *N E D* to be unknown, there is no evidence of any connection with an attempt to ridicule the Papal edicts

The "bull" here consists in the conjunction of *catholic* (Greek, *katholikos*, universal) with *Roman*, the name of a *particular* sect the contradiction, says Milton, is as great as if one were to call the same thing at once *particular* and *universal*, or *catholic* (universal) and *schismatic* (belonging to a *schism*, or permanent breach in the Church, from the Greek *schisma*, a split)

At the time of his death Milton was preparing for the press an elaborate Latin treatise *On Christian Doctrine*, the manuscript of which was surrendered to the Government together with some of his official letters. In 1823 it was discovered in the State Paper Office at Whitehall, and published, thus serving as the occasion for Macaulay's Essay on Milton.

29 Juvenile poems, the first edition of which had been published in 1645 or 1646, see page 13, line 19. The new edition was entitled "Poems upon Several Occasions, by Mr John Milton, both English and Latin, composed at several times. With a small Tractate of Education to Mr. Hartlib 1673." To the ten previous Sonnets nine were now added (xi-xiv, xviii-xxi, xxiii), together with the lines "On the New Forcers of Conscience," "On the Death of a Fair Infant," and "At a Vacation Exercise," also translations of an ode of Horace and of seventeen Psalms.

31 Familiar Epistles. The title is taken from Cicero's *Epistolae ad Familiares*, or Letters to Intimate Friends. There were thirty-one in all, written at various times between 1625 and 1666, to seventeen persons, amongst whom were Thomas Young, Alexander Gill the younger, Charles Diodati, Lucas Holstenius, and Carlo Dati. The volume was published in July, 1674, by Brabazon Aylmer (compare page 40).

32 Academical exercises, *Prolusiones Quaedam Oratoriae*, as they are called in the Latin title. These have already been referred to on page 3.

38. Expiration, death; a sense in which the word is no longer used. Milton died on November the 8th, late at night, "with so little pain that the time of his expiring was not perceived by those in the room."

Page 36 1. Next his father, who had died in 1647.

Chancel, that part of the church which contains the altar, and which is reserved for the use of the clergy and choir, so called because formerly fenced off by a screen of lattice-work (Latin, *cancelli*).

Cripplegate, one of the *wards* into which London is divided. St. Giles' was the church of the *parish* in which Milton lived. "All his learned and great friends in London," says Toland, "not without a concourse of the vulgar, accompanied his body to the church."

5 Mr Benson. William Benson (1682-1754), for a time a member of parliament, was Surveyor-general of Works to George I, and then Auditor of the Imprests (public loans), he was an enthusiastic admirer of the works of Virgil and Milton, and in honour of the latter had a bust of him (by the sculptor Rysbrack) placed in the Abbey, with an inscription chiefly devoted to stating his own titles. Hence Pope ridicules him in the *Dunciad*, iii 325 —

"On poets' tombs see Benson's titles writ."

8 Philips, not Milton's nephew, but the poet John Philips (1676-1708), the author of a kind of parody of Milton's style called *The Splendid Shilling*. He was buried in Hereford Cathedral, but Sir Simon Harcourt gave him a monument in Westminster Abbey also, the inscription on which is quoted by Johnson in his *Life of Philips*.

9 Soli, etc The original has *Un. Miltono secundus, primoque paene par*, "second to Milton alone, and almost equal to him"

Dr Sprat Thomas Sprat (1636-1713) became Dean of Westminster and Bishop of Rochester in 1683 (the two posts were then held together), he wrote some poetry after the model of Cowley, and so found a place in Johnson's *Lives*

10 Dean The dean of a cathedral ranks next in dignity to the bishop of that diocese, and has the immediate charge of the building and the cathedral-property. The position of the Dean of Westminster is peculiar, in that he has no bishop over him, since the Bishop of London's cathedral is St Paul's

12 Atterbury Francis Atterbury (1662-1732), after holding the deaneries of Carlisle and Christ Church, Oxford, succeeded Sprat as Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster in 1713. He seems to have been one of the finest speakers of the time, and was very intimate with Swift, Pope, and the other men of letters of the age of Queen Anne. Under George I Atterbury entered into communication with the Jacobites, for which in 1723 he was deprived of all his offices and banished from England for ever. He died in France, but was buried privately in Westminster Abbey

14 Dr Gregory David Gregory (1696-1767) was in 1724 appointed the first Professor of Modern History and Languages at Oxford. In 1756 he was made Dean of Christ Church, Oxford

16 Statue The monument is really a *bust*, not a full-sized statue

19 The Lady That this was his nickname at Christ's College is stated by Milton himself in his Sixth Academical Exercise (Masson, *Life*, i 260), as also by Aubrey and Wood. Other allusions show that it referred, not only to his fair complexion, but also to the innocence of his life, so that we may compare with it the name *Parthenias*, or "the Maidenly," given to Virgil by the Neapolitans

Milton was described by his daughter Deborah (in 1721) as having been "of a fair complexion, a little red in his cheeks, and light brown lank hair"

20 Parted at the foretop, was parted, or divided, in the middle of the forehead. see the portraits prefixed to Masson, *Works*, vol 11, *Life*, vol vi

21 The picture, etc Compare *Paradise Lost*, iv 301 —

"And hyacinthine locks
Round from his parted forelock manly hung
Clustering, but not beneath his shoulders broad."

22. He was, etc. In his *Defensio Secunda* Milton says—"I confess I am not tall, but still of what is nearer to middle height than to little" Aubrey speaks of him as scarcely of middle stature.

27 Rapier, a straight, narrow sword, used only for thrusting, while the *backsword* has a cutting edge Milton does not actually name the latter in his Tract on Education addressed to Hartlib, but he implies it when he says—"The exercise which I commend first is the exact use of their weapon, to guard and to strike safely with edge, or point: this will keep them healthy, nimble, strong, and well in breath" The name *backsword* was also applied to what we call a 'singlestick,' *i.e.*, a stick with a basket-hilt, used for practice in fencing.

38. Then took etc He seems to have dined at midday, and then devoted three or four hours of the afternoon to exercise and other recreations, such as music.

Page 37. 1 Visitors, now spelt visitors.

3. Even tenour, regular course of life *Tenour*, or *tenor* (from the Latin *tenere*, to hold), is, literally, holding on in a continuous course

4. In the world of business and society. Though University life at Oxford and Cambridge is no longer so much "out of the world" as it used to be, a Fellow of a College can still, if he chooses, pursue the even tenor of his life without much regard to that world.

5 The succession of his practice, the regular order of his daily habits

8 When others will do it, at the time that suits those others who are concerned in it, as well as the man himself.

10 Were employed to do the reading, compare page 33.

12. Elbow-chair, one with arms to support the elbows; now commonly called an *arm-chair* This statement is taken from Richardson

14 Fortune, money-making, wealth.

15 Personal estate, property other than land and houses (which constitute *real estate*)

On this subject Milton himself states in his *Defensio Secunda* — "No one ever knew me either soliciting anything myself, or through the medium of my friends, ever beheld me in a suppliant posture at the doors of the senate, or the levees of the great I usually kept myself secluded at home, where my own property, part of which had been withheld during the civil commotions, and part of which had been absorbed in the oppressive contributions which I had to sustain, afforded me a scanty subsistence" This hardly bears out Johnson's account, for which he gives no authority

19 He was then, etc As we have seen, the Latin secretaryship was offered to Milton quite unexpectedly in March, 1649, only six weeks after the execution of the King The salary was at first £288 a year In April, 1655, it was proposed to superannuate him on a pension of £150 a year for life, but this was not carried, and he continued to discharge his duties, though at a reduced salary of £200 The story that he received a thousand pounds for the *Defensio* has been shown to be a fiction, see note to page 15, line 40

22 Namptwich, now spelt Nantwich At Milton's death his widow was just thirty-six She continued to live in London till about 1681, when she returned to her native county, and died at Nantwich about September, 1727, having outlived her husband fifty-three years

24 Scrivener See note to page 1, line 15

25 Depredation upon the Church After abolishing Bishops and Archbishops throughout England and Wales, the Parliament had passed orders for the sale of their lands for the benefit of the Commonwealth

Grasped an estate This seems to be Johnson's way of stating that Milton purchased an estate, put up for sale by what he considered to be the lawful Government of the country The story was told to Dr Birch (see page 14, line 40) in 1738 by Milton's grand-daughter, Mrs Elizabeth Foster (see page 40), so that the authority for it is scarcely first-rate

28 Placed in the Excise-office Milton had lent the money to the Commissioners of Excise, just as we might now invest in Government securities, "but neglecting to recall it in time," says Philips, "he could never after get it out," in spite of the power and influence he had with great men Philips also mentions "another great sum" lost "by mismanagement, and for want of good advice," perhaps the money which has been mentioned as having been entrusted to a scrivener

By *Excise* is meant the internal, or inland, revenue derived from articles manufactured in the country, from various kinds of licenses, and similar sources

30 Indigence, poverty Philips remarks that Milton "had sustained such losses as might well have broke any person less frugal and temperate than himself," but that nevertheless he had still "a considerable estate, all things considered" (Masson, vi 445) estimates that after the Restoration he had about £1,500 in money, with yearly rents to the amount of about £100, the two together giving him an annual income of about £200, equal to about £700 now Some of his property was subsequently destroyed in the Great Fire, and he had other losses

31 Sold his library, "both because the heirs he left could not make a right use of it, and that he thought he might sell it more to their advantage than they could do themselves" (Toland)

32 Fifteen hundred pounds So says Philips, but he was mistaken. Milton's estate realised about £1,000, of which two-thirds went to the widow, and one-third was divided between the daughters their respective receipts for £100 each still exist The mode in which this arrangement was arrived at has been pointed out in the note to page 32, line 7, the facts do not justify the terms in which Johnson speaks of the widow.

34. Literature, learning

35 Polite, polished, possessing a refined literature, some knowledge of which might be expected from any man of culture, under this head come Latin, French, *etc*, whilst the study of Hebrew is almost confined to scholars and *learned* men.

36 Its two dialects, Chaldee and Syriac, which are so closely connected with Hebrew that probably some knowledge of them is possessed by every advanced Hebrew scholar Certain portions of the Old Testament are written in a Chaldaic dialect, as for Syriac, see note to page 33, line 25

39 His daughter, Deborah, the youngest compare page 39

41 Ovid Publius Ovidius Naso, one of the most fertile of the Roman poets of the Augustan age, was born in 43 B C, and died in exile at Tomi, near the mouth of the Danube, 17 A D The *Metamorphoses*, a work to which he attached great importance, though it did not receive his final revision, is a lengthy poem which deals with a number of legendary transformations, most of them arising out of the amours of gods with nymphs and women

Euripides (480-406 B C), the third of the great tragic poets of Athens

Page 38 1 Mr Cradock, Joseph Cradock (1742-1826), a Leicestershire gentleman, the author of tragedy called *Zobeide* and other works, including some reminiscences of Goldsmith and Johnson. Boswell calls him "a very pleasing gentleman"

Milton's Euripides (with his name, the price, and the date, in his handwriting) was at one time in the possession of the Dr Birch mentioned on page 14, line 40 Subsequently it came into the hands of Cradock, who gave it to Sir Henry Halford His copy of Aratus was sold in 1850 for over £40, and is now in the British Museum.

6 To like, 'to have liked' would be more usual, but compare page 16, line 20 and page 24, line 23

7 Skilful, judicious, intelligent That Milton appreciated Shakespeare is shown by his lines (dated 1630) beginning—"What needs my Shakespeare for his honoured bones," as well as by the reference in *L' Allegro*

9 His character of, the opinion which he expressed as to Dryden.

11 Calvinistical John Calvin (1509-1564), a native of Picardy in France, studied first theology, and then law, but becoming a Protes-

tant had to take refuge in Switzerland, where he became a teacher and preacher at Geneva (1537), and without holding any magisterial post, organised a kind of "theocratic" government. This became a model for the Presbyterian Churches elsewhere. The principal feature of his theology was his thorough-going doctrine of "predestination," God has from all eternity predestined certain men to be saved, and all the rest to be eternally damned, those who are predestined to salvation being kept by Him in the true faith and holiness. This doctrine evidently does away with human free-will, and excited much controversy.

12 Hate the Presbyterians See notes to page 12.

13 Arminianism James Arminius (*z e*, Hermannus, or Hermanson), a Dutchman, was born in 1560, and became a professor at the University of Leyden in 1603. He was drawn into theological controversies, and being a man of a broad and liberal spirit, took up a position opposed to that of the Calvinists, maintaining in particular that the general sovereignty of God was compatible with the freedom of man. Worn out by controversy, he died in 1609.

15 Baudius Dominic Baudius, who died in 1613, was a professor in the University of Leyden, and the author of Latin poems which Hallam calls "harmonious and elegant, but with little originality or vigour."

16 Erasmus, a celebrated scholar, born in Holland, probably in 1466. He studied for a time at Paris, then at Oxford (1497), having come to England with a pupil. He visited that country again in 1506 and in 1509, when he was made Professor of Divinity and Reader in Greek at Cambridge. In 1513 he left England again, and spent most of the rest of his life at Basel in Switzerland, where he died in 1536. Himself a Catholic priest, Erasmus saw the corruption of the clergy of his day, and was anxious for reform, even before Luther took any steps in that direction, so that it was said that "Erasmus laid the egg and Luther hatched it." Theological controversy, however, was distasteful to him, whence he incurred the charge of indifference.

Magis habuit, etc. Johnson gives the sense in the next sentence.

19 Denomination, a sect *denominated* by some particular name, such as the Calvinists, etc.

25 Ordinances, regular usages

Stated, at fixed times

29 Untainted, etc. *Paradise Lost* appears to be generally accepted by theologians as not containing anything definitely unorthodox, though the dogma of the Trinity is avoided in it, but in Milton's *Treatise on Christian Doctrine*, discovered in 1823 (see note to page 35, line 24), his "heterodoxy becomes flagrant" he propounds views about the nature of Christ which are emphatically those of

high Arianism" (Masson, vi 823) He further lays down that God created Matter out of His own substance, a doctrine which points to Pantheism; and denies the immateriality of the soul as ordinarily understood. Another novelty is the defence of Polygamy

30 Immediate and occasional, etc., the direct interference of the Deity in human affairs upon suitable *occasions*.

31 Without any visible worship. "The fact that a man, with a deep sense of religion, should not have attended any place of public worship, has given great trouble to Milton's biographers. .. Dr Johnson, more clerical than any cleric, being no exception. Some would give Milton a dispensation on the score of his age and infirmities But the cause lay deeper A profound apprehension of the spiritual world leads to a disregard of rites To a mind so disposed externals become, first indifferent, then impeding. Ministration is officious intrusion" (Pattison, 151-2)

36 Live with their own approbation, need no other approbation in matters of this kind than that of their own conscience

39. Acceptably, in such a way as was acceptable to God, because full of gratitude and adoration; see *Paradise Lost*, iv. 721-737, v. 137-210.

40. Efficaciously, in such a way as to effect their purpose, which was to gain pardon for their sin; see x 1100—xi 47.

Page 39 5 Acrimonious, bitter.

7. A popular government, etc. Toland relates that Milton gave this as one reason "amongst others," when Sir Robert Howard (brother-in-law to Dryden) asked him what made him side with the Republicans.

8. Trappings, the external ornaments and decorations, such as the expenses of keeping up a splendid Court The word *trappings* is especially applied to the ornaments of horses it comes from a somewhat rare verb, *to trap*, meaning to adorn.

Set up, establish and maintain.

14 Milton's republicanism, etc. Johnson's prejudices break out rather violently in this paragraph We have seen that Milton's republicanism was, at any rate, not inconsistent with admiration for the strong and resolute rule of a Cromwell. But Johnson was always reflecting on the necessity of *subordination* to human happiness, "if men were all in a state of equality," he said, "they would degenerate into brutes—their tails would grow" (Boswell, ii. 219).

26 Turkish, i e, Mahomedan In *Paradise Lost* Milton follows the narrative of *Genesis*, which makes the creation of Eve a kind of afterthought on the part of the Deity, his views are summed up in iv. 296-299 —

"Not equal, as their sex not equal seemed,
For contemplation he and valour formed,
For softness she, and sweet attractive grace,
He for God only, she for God in him "

Compare iv 637-8, where Eve says—

"God is thy law, thou mine to know no more
Is woman's happiest knowledge, and her praise "

Other similar passages are viii 540, *seq*, x 145, *seq* In his writings on divorce Milton aims at giving some relief to the man who is bound to an unsuitable wife, but he says nothing of the wife who is bound to an unsuitable husband, nor does the higher education of girls form any part of his educational system

28 Break the ranks, show insubordination by leaving the position assigned to them, a military metaphor, the use of which indicates that his daughters were in the subordinate position of private soldiers, who are drawn up in *ranks*, without the liberty of movement allowed to officers

29. Penurious, scanty, stingy

31. His sister, named Anne, see page 2 Her first husband died about August, 1631, and was succeeded as "secondary" in the Crown-office by his intimate friend and colleague, Thomas Agar At some date subsequent to 1633, Agar lost his wife, and then married Philips' widow he was ejected from his post by the Parliament, but recovered it after the Restoration, and died in 1673, leaving one surviving daughter, Ann She married a Surrey gentleman, named David Moore, from whom have descended a number of Moores, and Fitzmoores, believed by Masson ' to be of high respectability to the present day " The date of the death of Milton's sister is unknown As for her two sons by her first marriage, the Edward and John Philips, who have been so often mentioned, the former continued to be the more respectable of the two, earning his living by teaching and authorship Amongst others, he was tutor to a son of Evelyn, the diarist, who describes him as "a sober, silent, and most harmless person, a little versatile in his studies, understanding many languages, especially the modern " This was before Milton's death After that event Philips led the same sort of life until his own death, about 1698 The younger brother, John, is described by Anthony Wood as "a man of very loose principles, atheistical, forsakes his wife and children, makes no provision for them " The last thing known of him is a poem on the battle of Ramillies, published in 1706, when he was seventy-five.

36 Sir Christopher See page 1, and notes. He died at Ipswich in March, 1693, at the age of seventy-seven His first three children, born before 1642, two at Horton, and one at Reading, had long been dead, a son and three daughters survived him The son, Thomas, succeeded Agar as Deputy-Clerk of the Crown in 1673, and still held that office in 1694, "with great reputation and ability," according to Philips Of the three daughters, Mary and Catherine

remained unmarried, whilst of the third nothing more is known than that she married a clergyman named Pendlebury

38. Left a daughter, who is heard of in 1749 as a maiden lady, housekeeper to Dr. Secker, in Grosvenor-street, London. She died in July, 1769, a year after her master, who was Archbishop of Canterbury.

40 Though deformed In the depositions connected with the dispute over Milton's will, she is described by Christopher Milton as "lame and helpless," but by the maidservant as "lame, but she hath a trade and can live by the same, which is the making of gold and silver lace." She is also said to have had a handsome face, and an impediment in her speech she died before October, 1678, her child dying with her.

Master-buider He was probably what we should call an 'architect' now ; but nothing is known of him.

Page 40. 1. Single, unmarried. Her death occurred at some date before 1694

2 Spitalfields, a district in London. Deborah had gone to Ireland as companion to a lady, and had there married Clarke, who describes himself as a weaver, of Dublin Aubrey adds that he sold silk The marriage took place at some date before March, 1675 ; and at some time between 1684 and 1688 the Clarkes migrated to Spitalfields.

5 Metamorphoses, Ovid's poem of that name ; see note to page 37, line 41 Professor Ward, of Gresham College, London, is said to have tested her in Homer and Ovid he calls her "a woman of good sense and a genteel behaviour "

6 Make a stand, come to a halt in order to resist the belief in these stories

9. Of a book, etc There was no reason why Deborah should remember the beginning rather than any other part, and there was less reason why Milton should want to have it read to him.

16 Unideal, having no ideas connected with them, conveying no particular ideas to her mind.

Mrs Clarke assured Professor Ward of the truth of the story that Milton made his daughters read to him in eight languages, which they did not understand, his jocular answer, when any remark was made on the subject, being that "one tongue was enough for a woman "

18 Addison, Joseph Addison (1672-1719), the well-known essayist and poet, for a time Secretary of State. Hearing that Milton's daughter was alive, he sent for her, asking her to bring evidence of her parentage ; but when she entered his room he exclaimed that she needed no other testimonial, her face was sufficient He gave her some guineas, and promised to try to procure a small annual pension for her.

19 Establishment, fixed allowance, the pension referred to in the last note.

Addison died on June 17, 1719. Some years later Voltaire related that he was in London "when it became known that a daughter of blind Milton was still alive, old and in poverty, and in a quarter of an hour she was rich." This perhaps refers to an appeal published on her behalf in *Mist's weekly Journal*, April 29th, 1727. Richardson speaks of her as being "nobly relieved" on this occasion.

Queen Caroline, Caroline of Anspach, wife of George, Prince of Wales, who succeeded to the throne as George II, in June, 1727.

22 Fort St George, i.e., Madras. Caleb Clarke is found there as a married man in 1703, and as parish clerk from 1717 to 1719, when he died. His eldest son Abraham was then in England, but returned to Madras, where he married in 1725. A daughter was born to him in 1727, but of her, and of Caleb's other son, Isaac, nothing more is known.

25 Grocer, a dealer in tea, coffee, sugar, spices, etc.

Chandler, a dealer in candles.

In February, 1738, the Fosters are found keeping this shop in Pelham-street, Spitalfields. Urban Clarke, Mrs Foster's brother (not mentioned by Johnson), was living with them. About 1742 they moved to Lower Holloway, to the north of London, where Urban died, unmarried. In 1749 they again moved to Shoreditch, in the east of London.

30 Delicate, particular, fastidious. see page 36, lines 33, 34.

32 Played, acted. The performance took place at Drury-lane Theatre.

For her benefit, i.e., the profits of the performance were to be given to her, hence 'benefit' has become a technical theatrical term for a performance the profits of which are devoted to some particular object.

35 Dr. Newton, afterwards Bishop of Bristol, published annotated editions of *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. He had visited the Fosters in Shoreditch in 1749.

The total receipts at the theatre seem to have been £147. 14s. 6d., and the net profits £67 14s 6d., but this amount was made up to £130 by contributions from various persons.

37 Tonson, the publisher who held the copyright of Milton's poems, and grandnephew of the Tonson mentioned on page 31.

38 The stocks, Government securities; also called "the funds."

40 Stock, the store of goods in their shop. . . .

41. Islington, another district in London. Here Mrs. Foster died, May 9th, 1754 : with her Milton's line became extinct, unless any of the Clarkes were alive in India ; but Mrs. Foster told Dr. Newton in 1749 that she had heard nothing of them for several years.

Page 41. 2. Contributing a Prologue. Johnson both wrote a prologue (delivered by the great actor, Garrick), and also sent a letter to the *General Advertiser*, to draw attention to the performance. Boswell describes him as taking "a very zealous interest in the success of the charity" (i. 227).

7. Broke off, brought to a sudden stop.

Nothing satisfied, etc. The reference is to the poem on "The Passion" (dated 1630), which ends at the fifty-sixth line with this note—"This subject the Author finding to be above the years he had when he wrote it, and nothing satisfied with what was begun, left it unfinished "

9. Nice, particular, fastidious.

11. A man, etc. Cunningham thinks that by this is meant Baretti, an Italian friend of Johnson frequently mentioned by Boswell. Signor Saffi, who was consulted by Masson on the subject in 1858, pronounced that "in the form of the language there are irregularities of idiom and grammar, and metaphors which remind one of the false literary taste prevalent in Italy when Milton visited that country.....The measure of the verse is generally correct, nay, musical; and one feels, in perusing these poems, that the mind of the young aspiring poet had listened attentively to the gentlest notes of the Italian Muse, though unable to reproduce them fully in a form of his own" (*Poet Works*, i. 210)

12. Lusciously, excessively sweet, so sweet as to be even cloying to the taste.

✓ 14. Purity of the diction, i. e., the Latinity is good.

15. Numbers, the versification.

16. Sentiment, the opinions which he expresses.

"The earliness of the majority of Milton's Latin poems has to be rememberedA certain juvenility may be perceived in some of them, and occasionally a conventionalism of opinion about men and things which he would have afterwards repudiated" (Masson, *Poet. Works*, i. 25). On the whole, however, Masson thinks highly of them, and so does Pattison (page 41)—"His Latin verses are distinguished from most Neo-Latin verse by being a vehicle of real emotion. His technical skill is said to have been surpassed by others; but that in which he stands alone is, that in these exercises of imitative art he is able to give utterance to genuine passion." Hallam also pronounces that there is in them a more individual display of the poet's mind than we usually find.

M. 12.

17. The elegies. Milton's elegies include all the pieces written in the elegiac metre, those written in other metres he forms into a book of *Sylvae*, to which Johnson alludes under the name of 'odes'

Gunpowder Treason, the Gunpowder Plot to blow up the Houses of Parliament, 1605 This seems to have been a regular subject for composition in schools and colleges Milton has four short pieces on it amongst his Elegies, and a long hexameter poem "On the Fifth of November" amongst the *Sylvae* This last was written in 1626, and is regarded as one of the very best of Milton's juvenile compositions by Masson, who translates it, *Works*, i. 283, *seq*

19 Make no promises We should now say, 'hold out no *promise*, or prospect, of,' *ī ē*, give us no reason to expect.

20 Cast, form, appearance, style a metaphor apparently adopted from the *mould* in which molten metal is *cast*, and from which it takes its form

21. Their peculiarity, etc, the fact that they are *peculiar*, *ī ē*, different from others, does not make them excellent

27 Happily, fortunately

29 Reliques, relics, memorials of his work

The MSS referred to here came into the hands of a scholar and book-collector named Sir Henry Newton Puckering, who, on his death in 1700, left his collection of books (amounting to 4000 volumes) to Trinity College, Cambridge The Milton MSS were neglected until 1736, when one of the Fellows had them carefully bound in a folio volume This contains copies of the greater number of the Minor Poems, mostly in Milton's own hand, but sometimes in the hands of amanuenses and (according to Masson) only a facsimile of the MSS could give an adequate idea of the extent to which Milton erased and changed what he had written

37 Suavity, agreeableness, pleasantness, Latin *suavitas*, sweetness

38 Dandling the Kid From Milton's description of the various beasts playing innocently in the presence of Adam and Eve—

"Sporting the lion ramped, and in his paw
Dandled the kid "

—*Paradise Lost*, iv. 343.

To *dandle* a child is to move it up and down in the arms, or on the knee, by way of showing affection for it and amusing it.

On another occasion Johnson expressed the same view of Milton's powers by the help of a different metaphor —"I accused Dr Johnson," says Hannah More, "of not having done justice to the *Allegro* and the *Penseroso* He spoke disparagingly of both. I praised *Lycidas*, which he absolutely abused, adding, 'If Milton had not written the *Paradise Lost*, he would only have ranked among the minor poets *he was a Phidias that cut a Colossus out of a rock, but could not cut heads out of cherry-stones.*' "

40 The diction is harsh, etc On the other side hear Masson—
 "For fastidious beauty of diction and musical finish of versification,
Lycidas is hardly rivalled The art of the verse is a study in
 itself.The interlinking and intertwining of the rhymes . .
 are positive perfection. Occasionally there is a line that does not
 rhyme; and in every such case, though the rhyme is never missed
 by the reader's ear, in so much music is the line embedded, yet a
 delicate artistic reason may be detected for its formal absence"
 (*Works*, 1. 201). In Pattison's opinion, "In *Lycidas* we have reach-
 ed the high-water mark of English Poesy, and of Milton's own
 production. A period of a century and a half was to elapse before
 poetry in England seemed, in Wordsworth's *Ode on Immortality*
 (1807), to be rising again towards the same level of inspiration."

41. Numbers, versification, as before.

Page 42 2 Effusion, outpouring

3 Remote allusions, the classical allusions in which Milton in-
 dulges. Obscure opinions, the theological views to which allusion
 is made.

Passion plucks, etc., i.e., a man who was writing under the influ-
 ence of real passion would not use such artificial language as that
 with which Milton begins *Lycidas*—

"Yet once more, O ye laurels, and once more,
 Ye myrtles brown, with ivy never-sere,
 I come to pluck your berries harsh and crude "

The laurel, myrtle, and ivy supplied the wreaths with which the
 ancient poets were crowned hence, to pluck their leaves or berries
 is the same as to earn a wreath, *z.e.*, to write a poem, and if the
 berries are 'harsh,' *z.e.*, unripe, the poem is one written before the
 due season, *z.e.*, on some sudden occasion.

4 Arethuse and Mincius. See lines 85, 86—

"O fountain Arethuse, and thou honoured flood,
 Smooth-sliding Mincius, crowned with vocal reeds,
 That strain I heard was of a higher mood "

Arethusa, the name of a famous fountain near Syracuse, in Sicily,
 symbolises the Sicilian pastoral poet Theocritus; whilst the *Mincius*
 is the river of Mantua, in Italy, the birthplace of Virgil, whose ear-
 liest poems were also pastorals Thus the lines above mean that
 the "strain" he has just heard, transcends the bounds of pastoral
 poetry as composed by Theocritus and Virgil.

Rough satyrs, etc. See lines 32-36—

"Meanwhile the rural ditties were not mute,
 Tempered to the oaten flute;
 Rough Satyrs danced, and Fauns with cloven heel
 From the glad sound would not be absent long,
 And old Damoetas loved to hear our song."

The *satyrs* and *fauns* of classical mythology were woodland deities,
 half-man, half-goat, represented as delighting in rural music and

sports Since they had the legs of goats, their feet were cloven-hoofed. In Milton's lines they stand for "miscellaneous Cambridge under-graduates" (Masson), who joined Milton and King in their poetical exercises, whilst "old Damoetas" was perhaps one of the Fellows of Christ's College.

6 There is little grief. Masson replies to this that (1) it is a sheer assumption that Milton offered the poem as an utterance of intense personal grief His affection for King was no doubt considerable, but not equal to his affection for Charles Diodati. It was probably the peculiarly tragic circumstances of King's death that moved Milton to throw his feelings into this poetic form, where "personal feeling is present, but it blends with, and passes into, the feeling of the artist thinking of his subject." (2) If "passion runs not after remote allusions," *etc.*, neither does it construct clear sentences, form lines of metre, or invent rhymes, so that Johnson's criticism implies a condemnation of all poetry. In poets, as in others, grief is at first incoherent, but as soon as there is a lull of comparative tranquillity, there comes to poets "the use of those artifices of expression which are with them hardly artifices any longer, but the very habits of their minds." If Mincius and Arethuse, satyrs and fauns, are familiar to their habits of thinking, they will naturally introduce them. Now Milton's *Lycidas* does not profess to be a poem of such personal sorrow as Shelley's *Adonais* and Tennyson's *In Memoriam*, yet the last, at any rate, of these is far more complex than *Lycidas*, 'remote allusions' are plentifully interwoven, and "all the science and metaphysics of the time become relevant to one death." See Masson, *Works*, i. 197-199.

Johnson, it may be noticed, uses almost the same language in his account of a poet called Hammond—"Where there is fiction, there is no passion he that describes himself as a shepherd, and his Neæra or Delia as a shepherdess, and talks of goats and lambs, feels no passion. He that courts his mistress with Roman imagery deserves to lose her, for she may with good reason suspect his sincerity." Hallam has observed that it is somewhat remarkable that at an earlier period of his life Johnson had selected for peculiar praise the tenth Eclogue of Virgil, which belongs to the same class of pastoral and personal allegory as *Lycidas*, and requires the same sacrifice of reasoning criticism.

8 Pastoral, a poem in which the characters are represented as shepherds. In modern literature, this 'pastoral' or 'bucolic' poetry is an imitation of the *idylls* of the Greek poets Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus, and of the *eclogues* of Virgil. It was revived in Italy by Politian and others, at the end of the 15th century, and spread to France, Spain, and England, the finest pastoral in the literature of the latter country probably being the *Shepherd's Calendar* of Spenser. In course of time this form of literature became so highly artificial and even absurd as to wear out the taste for it; but whatever it might be in inferior hands, Milton's *Lycidas* is scarcely the pastoral which most critics would select as an example of the defects of the style.

9 **Vulgar**, common, or commonplace; the ordinary sense of the Latin *vulgaris*.

Disgusting, distasteful, unpleasing For this use of the word in a weaker sense than it has now, compare page 32, line 32.

Whatever images, etc. This is not strictly true. There is imagery in *Lycidas*, and that of a high kind, entirely new to English poetry" (Cunningham)

11. **Cowley.** See notes to page, 2, line 23, page 8, line 33

12. **Hervey.** William Hervey was an intimate friend of Cowley, who wrote an elegy on Hervey's death In the course of it he says—

" Say, for you saw us, ye immortal lights,
How oft unwearied have we spent the nights,
Till the Ledaean stars, so famed for love,
Wondered at us from above!

We spent them not in toys, in lusts, or wine;
But search of deep Philosophy,
Wit, Eloquence and Poetry,

Arts which I loved, for they, my friend, were thine "

14. **Tenderness.** "I know not if Cowley has more tenderness than Milton, I am sure he has less poetry" (Warton).

16. **We drove, etc** From *Lycidas*, 27-29. Drove a-field, drove our flocks to the fields to pasture the joint feeding of the flocks symbolising companionship in study at Cambridge.

17. **What time, at the time when.** The grey fly is explained by Browne to mean the "trumpet-fly." Winds, the usual term for blowing a horn or trumpet Sultry, because the hum of the fly is heard in the heat of midday, the time is expressed by the help of an epithet, in accordance with classical usage. In the interests of natural history it may be as well to remark that insects do not produce sounds by *blowing* in any way, but by the vibration of their wings or other organs.

18. **Battening, fattening**, a word of Scandinavian origin, etymologically connected with *bet-ter* and *best* Strictly speaking, it is intransitive, as in Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, iii. 4.67—

" Could you on this fair mountain leave to feed,
and *batten* on this moor?"

19 **We know that they never, etc.** "No, nor did Theocritus or Virgil ever keep sheep, or pipe on oaten flutes Nor did the Portuguese pastoral poets do the like, nor the Italians Nor was Spenser a real Colin Clout, with all the other eminent Englishmen of the day surrounding him as actual shepherds What then? We know what they meant. . . The pastoral form was a device for distancing *themselves* from the ordinary and the prosaic . . . From 1580 to 1640 much of the finest English poetry is in the pastoral form. During that period the *shepherd* was an accepted synonym in England for the word *poet*" (Masson, *Works*, i. 199, 200).

21. The True meaning, etc. Probably no one but Johnson has ever had any difficulty in seeing that the pastoral imagery is intended to express the companionship of Milton and King in their studies at Cambridge.

24. Copses, small woods *Lycidas*, 42

25 Jove, i.e., Jupiter, the chief god of the Romans, is mentioned in line 16—

"Begin, then, sisters of the sacred well,
That from beneath the seat of Jove doth spring:"

and again (lines 81, 82) in the well-known passage about Fame, which—

'Lives and spreads aloft by those pure eyes,
And perfect witness of all-judging Jove.'

Phæbus, a Greek name for the sun-god, also called Apollo, but he does not seem to be mentioned in the poem

Neptune, the Roman god of the sea.

"But now my oat proceeds,
And listens to the herald of the sea
That came in Neptune's plea,"

i.e., on Neptune's behalf, to hold an enquiry into the drowning of *Lycidas* (lines 88-90).

Æolus, the god of the winds, to whom Milton refers by the name *Hippotades*, or son of *Hippotes*, in line 96—

"He asked the waves, and asked the felon winds,
What hard mishap hath doomed this gentle swain?
And questioned every gust of rugged wings,
That blows from off each beaked promontory
They knew not of his story,
And sage Hippotades their answer brings,
That not a blast was from his dungeon strayed "

26 Such as a college, etc., such as would be familiar to a student at college, where exercises in Greek and Latin composition were frequent.

29 Any judge, etc. It is a favourite device of the pastoral poets to represent their shepherds as competing against each other in playing on their pipes

30 Is We now usually say "*has* become "

32. Confer no honour. "What would a simple narrative of the shipwreck, or a few stanzas of direct regret, have been in comparison with the poem we now read? It tells the facts with the minutest fidelity. but it is the setting that has made the facts immortal. If we now remember Edward King at all, is it not owing to Milton's monody?" (Masson, *Works*, i. 200).

35 Irreverend, an obsolete form of *irreverent*, showing no reverence; though by its origin it should have a *passive* meaning, *deserving* of no reverence.

36. Now, at one time: as in the passages already quoted. Subsequently the word *shepherd* is taken in its metaphorical sense, in the speech of St. Peter (lines 113-131), to whom Christ himself had given the command, "Feed my sheep" (*St. John*, xxi 15-17)

37 Pastor, originally, Latin for shepherd. metaphorically applied to a clergyman.

Equivocation, the use of terms in a double sense

38 Indecent, unseemly, quite unsuitable.

Hallam remarks that "the introduction of St. Peter after the fabulous deities of the sea has appeared to some an incongruity deserving of censure. It would be very reluctantly that we could abandon to this criticism the most splendid passage it presents. But the censure rests, as I think, on too narrow a principle. In narrative or dramatic poetry.. whatever is obviously incongruous destroys to a certain extent that acquiescence in the fiction, which it is the true business of the fiction to produce. But the case is not the same in such poems as *Lycidas*, which are read with the willing abandonment of the imagination to a waking dream.....And it had been so usual to blend sacred with mythological personages in allegory, that no one probably in Milton's age would have been struck by the objection "

Page 43 2 Nice, particular, scrupulous, exact.

Surely no man, etc Hallam, on the other hand, quotes with approval a saying that " *Lycidas* is a good test of a real feeling for what is peculiarly called poetry "

5 *L'Allegro*, Italian for 'the cheerful man ;' whilst *Il Penseroso* is intended for *Il Penseroso*, 'the pensive man '

7 Theobald Lewis Theobald, or Tibbald (such being the pronunciation of the name), was the author of some inferior plays, translations, and other poems. he incurred the enmity of Pope by criticising the latter's edition of Shakespeare, and by producing a much better one himself, and hence was held up to ridicule by Pope in his *Dunciad*. He died in 1744

8. Derive their colours, are made to look bright or dark.

10 Differently disposed, disposed to gaiety or to melancholy.

14 Cheerful, an older spelling of *cheerful*.

Hears the lark — See *L'Allegro*, 41, 42—

" To hear the lark begin his flight,
And singing startle the dull night,
From his watch-tower in the skies,
Till the dappled dawn doth rise "

15. Hears the nightingale See *Il Penseroso*, 56-64, and especially the lines—

- " Sweet bird that shunn'st the noise of folly,
Most musical, most melancholy '
Thee, chantress, oft the woods among,
I woo to hear thy even-song."

Sees the cock, etc. This is a summary of *L'Allegro*, 49-116.

The horn, blown by the huntsman

17 Not unseen, not trying to escape notice, as the melancholy man does *L'Allegro*, 57.

18 Plowman, the old spelling of *Ploughman*

22 The fanciful narratives, etc, the tales of fairies and similar beings, invented by the superstitious and ignorant peasantry : *L'Allegro*, 100-115

24 The pensive man, etc., Here follows a similar summary of *Penoso*, 65-154

Muse, meditate in silence.

25 Sullen curfew. The *curfew* (French *couvre-feu*, cover fire) was the ringing of an evening-bell, originally as a signal for putting out fires and lights. The sound of the bell, "swinging slow" in the gathering darkness, conveys a sense of gloom ; hence it is called *sullen*.

26 Glowing embers, red-hot coals, which do not give off the cheerful blaze of an ordinary fire the red glow only makes the surrounding gloom more intense

27 Outwatches the North Star Milton says " the Bear," *i. e.*, the constellation called the Great Bear, which is close to the celestial north pole, and therefore to an observer situated in England never sets below the horizon, hence to *outwatch* it (*i. e.*, watch longer than it, or sit up until it disappears) implies sitting up all night, until the returning daylight causes the stars to vanish from sight. The object of thus sitting up is to study the works of philosophers like Plato on the nature of the soul, or the masterpieces of tragic and epic poets.

28. Separate, separated from the body, the immortal mind that hath forsook Her mansion in this fleshly nook "

Shades of meditation, his meditative melancholy

30 Gloomy, etc Johnson is not quite right the pensive man waits for the wind and rain to stop, and only goes out "when the sun begins to fling His flaming beams "

32. Expects, waits for, like the Latin *expectare*.

Of prognostication, foretelling the future

33. " By aerial performers," sent by some spirit to mortals good, Or th'unseen Genius of the wood" (lines 153-4).

35 Mirth and Melancholy, i.e., as represented by Milton in these two poems: it is not intended to be a general statement. The cheerful man, however, has been described as amusing himself with the doings and sayings of the superstitious rustics.

38 Participation of. We now use *in* after *participate* and its allied forms.

39 The bottle, i.e., wine, "which maketh glad the heart of man," according to the Psalmist.

41 Towered cities, etc See *L'Allegro*, 117-134 "The meaning is not necessarily that the poet conceives himself personally taken from the country to the city, but that, still in the country, he may, after the rustics have retired to rest, further protract *his* more educated day by imaginations of the city over delightful books .. There might be literary pleasure still more real in the pages of the dramatic poets" (Masson, *Life*, i 536) Johnson seems to interpret the passage more literally.

Page 44 1 A mere spectator, i.e., as a spectator and nothing more; he takes no active part in the festivities, any more than he does in the performances at the theatre

2. Jonson Ben Jonson (died in 1637) was the author of dramas, masques, and miscellaneous poems, in which he displays great constructive powers and a memory capable of supplying him with profuse materials, but less passion and spontaneous humour than most of the contemporary dramatists

3 Wild, fanciful and irregular, as contrasted with the more formal and "learned" plays of Jonson Milton is thinking of Shakespeare's comedies, such as the *Midsummer Night's Dream* (the more serious plays being reserved for *Il Penseroso*) and this contrast of the natural genius of Shakespeare with the laborious learning of Jonson was a regular one with critics.

The lines referred to are (131-134)—

"Then to the well-trod stage anon,
If Jonson's learned sock be on,
Or sweetest Shakespeare, Fancy's child,
Warble his native wood-notes wild "

4 Loses himself in, seeks distraction by mixing with.

5 Cloister, properly, a covered passage, up and down which one can walk, by the side of an open court Since monasteries were usually built in this way, so that the monks might take some exercise even in bad weather, *cloister* is often used for the monastery in general, or even the monastic life Cloisters also are frequently attached to cathedrals and large churches ; hence the meaning here is that the pensive man will pay a visit to the neighbouring cathedral, or to the cloisters which adjoin it

6 The Church, the Church of England. He speaks in glowing terms here of its services—

"There let the pealing organ blow
To the full-voiced quire below,
In service high, and anthems clear,
As may with sweetness, through mine ear,
Dissolve me into ecstasies,
And bring all Heaven before mine eyes "

7. Delight in musick. The passage last quoted illustrates this in the case of the pensive man for the other see *L'Allegro*, 135-150—

"And ever against eating cares,
Lap me in soft Lydian airs,
Married to immortal verse," etc.

8. Pluto, in Greek mythology, the god of the nether regions, from whom Orpheus, the great musician, who could charm even trees and wild beasts, obtained leave to take his dead wife, Eurydice, back to earth, on condition that he did not turn to look at her, but when they had all but reached the upper world, Orpheus could no longer restrain his anxiety to see if Eurydice was following, and looked behind him, whereupon he immediately lost her Milton alludes to the story, in *L'Allegro* 145-150—

"That Orpheus' self may heave his head
From golden slumber on a bed
Of heaped Elysian flowers, and hear
Such strains as would have won the ear
Of Pluto, to have quite set free
His half-regained Eurydice, "

and again in *Il Penseroso*, 105-108—

"Or bid the soul of Orpheus sing
Such notes as, warbled to the string,
Drew iron tears down Pluto's cheek
And made Hell grant what Love did seek "

Compleat, an old spelling of *complete*

9 Dismission, dismissal compare page 3, line 13

Solemn sounds, the music of Orpheus, to whom certain "Orphic hymns" were traditionally attributed by the Greeks

10 Conditional, depending on the condition stated in the note above on *Pluto*

11 Makes no provision, the poem ending simply with—

"These delights, if thou canst give,
Mirth, with thee I mean to live "

12 He conducts, etc See *Il Penseroso*, 167-174—

"And may at last my weary age
Find out the peaceful hermitage,
The hairy gown and mossy cell,
Where I may sit and rightlly spell
Of every star that Heaven doth show," etc.

13. *Levity*, frivolous gaiety.

Asperity, harshness or roughness of manner.

15. *Distinguished* Before this insert the word *nicely* (i. e., carefully), which has been omitted by the printer.

Colours The word is sometimes used in this figurative way of the ornaments or embellishments of a style, such as rhetorical figures.

Hallam's judgment on these two poems is this—"The choice of images is so judicious, their succession so rapid, the allusions are so various and pleasing, the leading distinction of the poems is so felicitously maintained, the versification is so animated, that we may place them at the head of that long series of descriptive poems which our language has to boast."

18. I am afraid, etc. "This seems to be too strongly put, but it may be said that his *Allegro* is rather cheerful than gay, and that even his cheerfulness is not always without effort" (Hallam).

20 *Mask of Comus* See notes to page 5, lines 7, 8.

30 *Period*, complete sentence.

32 The votaries, those who have *devoted* themselves to the admiration of Milton and all his works.

Page 45. 2. *Convenience*, i. e., it is necessary for the working out of the plot that the Lady should be left alone, to fall into the hands of Comus.

6 No precedents, etc., even if other writers have done the same, their authority can never be sufficient to justify the violation of dramatic propriety.

7 Too long. This opening speech contains 92 lines

9 Spriteliness, liveliness, vivacity, now spelt "sprightliness," *spright* or *sprite* being the same word as *spirit*.

Animated, etc., rendered lively by the quick exchange of question and answer.

13 The song of Comus, lines 94-144.

Airiness, gaiety and lightness of spirits.

14. Recommend, speak well for, give one a good opinion of.

17. Soliloquies, of Comus, lines 145-169, of the Lady, 170-229. A *soliloquy* (Latin *solus*, alone, *loquor*, to speak) is a speech delivered to oneself.

18. The song must owe, etc., if the Lady's song (lines 230-243) is to delight the audience, it must be sung by an exceptionally good voice; i. e., the credit will be due to the singer's voice, rather than to the words of the song.

20 Have feared, i.e., expressed their fears, similarly in the next line "hoped" is equivalent to "expressed their hopes" Johnson is summarising the speeches, lines 350-416

21 In praise of chastity, lines 418-475. In reply to this long speech the Younger brother exclaims—

"How charming is divine philosophy!
Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,
But musical as is Apollo's lute," *etc*

26 Is taken with, is seized with it, as if it were a sudden attack of illness The short speeches of the Brother and the Spirit, lines 495-510 rhyme in couplets

28 Moralises, makes moral reflections, on the power of virtue, *etc*, lines 585-599

A long narration, lines 617-656, describing the herb "haemony," by means of which the Spirit proposes to counteract the spells of Comus. Why Johnson should apply the epithet *false* to this part more than any other of the masque, it is difficult to see; unless it is simply because the Spirit describes himself as having received the herb from a brother-shepherd

30 The sentiments are generous, the opinions expressed are noble and lofty

33 Affecting, influencing the feelings of the hearers This passage extends from line 659 to 813, and contains two lengthy speeches and several shorter ones

36 The songs In addition to those of Comus and the Lady already mentioned, we have a song by the Spirit (859-889), Sabrina's reply (890-901), and another by the Spirit (958-975)

37 Numbers, versification "Perhaps only Johnson could so have criticised the song *Sabrina fair*, and all the melody thence to the end of the poem" (Deighton) Sir Henry Wotton, in the letter to Milton mentioned on page 6, said that he should much commend the dramatic part of *Comus*, if the lyrical did not ravish him "with a certain Doric delicacy in the songs and odes," to which he had seen nothing parallel in English

38 Figures, the figures of speech, metaphors, *etc*.

39 Too luxuriant, not concise enough; a "brisker reciprocation" is required for dialogue, not lengthy "declamations"

A drama in the epic style While the piece professes to be a drama, the action is not sufficiently rapid for the stage, it is *narrated* rather than *acted*

"Milton made his Masque what it ought to be, essentially lyrical, and dramatic only in semblance. The speeches must be read as majestic soliloquies, and he who so reads them will be enraptured with their eloquence, their sublimity, and their music.

The interruptions of the dialogue, however, impose a constraint upon the writer, and break the illusion of the reader. The finest passages are those which are lyric in form as well as in spirit. It is when Milton escapes from the shackles of the dialogue, when he is at liberty to indulge his choral raptures without reserve, that he rises even above himself" (Macanlay)

Inelegantly splendid The language is too rich and "luxuriant" to be elegant But in Hallam's judgment "*Comus* was sufficient to convince any one of taste and feeling that a great poet had arisen in England, and one partly formed in a different school from his contemporaries.. In it we find nothing prosaic or feeble, no false taste in the incidents and not much in the language." Nor did Macaulay see any false brilliancy in the style, "whatever ornaments Milton's muse wears are of massive gold"

Page 46. 2. Particular, detailed.

4 The eighth, written in Nov, 1642, "When the Assault was intended to the City;" whilst the *twenty-first* is the first of the two addressed to Cyriack Skinner. It seems extraordinary that Johnson should have omitted from his "slender commendation" the Sonnet (xviii.) "On the Late Massacre in Piedmont"

5 The fabrick, etc "The Sonnet may be defined, generally, as a little poem of fourteen lines, complete in itself, and containing a condensed expression of some one thought or feeling" (Masson *Works*, i 202). The Italians who first practised the sonnet, did so after a definite model, the rhymes interlacing each other in a peculiar manner, so as to have two governing the first eight lines of the sonnet, and either two or three in the last six lines English, having "a greater variety of termination," has fewer rhymes in consequence. the first English sonnet-writers, therefore, departed from the strictness of the Italian model, until at length any little poem of fourteen lines, no matter how it was rhymed, came to be called a sonnet. There were, however, two prominent types of sonnet, one exemplified by Spenser, the other by Shakespeare but both agreed in ending with a rhymed couplet "It was reserved mainly for Milton," says Masson, "to emancipate the English Sonnet from this peculiarity of the final rhyming couplet, by reasserting the Italian rule that it should be optional and occasional only, while at the same time he reverted to the Italian construction in other respects."

In some well-known lines beginning "Scorn not the Sonnet" Wordsworth traces its history through Petrarch, Tasso, Dante, Camoens, Shakespeare, Spenser, until—

"When a damp
Fell round the path of Milton, in his hand
The thing became a trumpet, whence he blew
Soul-animating strains,—alas! too few"

Similar admiration for them is expressed by Hallam "Johnson has been as impotent to fix the public taste in this instance as in his other criticisms on Milton's smaller poems. These sonnets are

indeed unequal, the expression is sometimes harsh, and sometimes obscure sometimes too much of pedantic allusion interferes with the sentiment, nor am I reconciled to his frequent deviations from the best Italian structure. But such blemishes are lost in the majestic simplicity, the holy calm, that ennoble many of these short compositions " It was these qualities that made Macaulay compare them to the "Collects," or short prayers on certain occasions, in the English Prayer-book In Pattison's opinion, again, they are distinguished from other sonnets by their *actuality*, "they are the momentary and spontaneous explosion of an emotion welling up from the depths of the soul, and forcing itself into metrical expression, as it were, in spite of the writer "

Johnson's remark of Hannah More, quoted in a note to page 41, line 38, is by Boswell referred to the occasion of a discussion on the "poorness" of Milton's sonnets

9 Dispatched, disposed of.

Anxiety, care and trouble in examining them.

14 First praise of genius, the credit of possessing the highest genius

20 Affecting See page 45, line 33

The writer, the epic poet Johnson is illustrating the "assemblage" of powers which he says is necessary Cunningham quotes from Johnson's *Rasselas*—"In a poet no kind of knowledge is to be overlooked—to a poet nothing can be useless For every idea is useful for the enforcement of moral or religious truth, and he who knows most will have most power of diversifying his scenes, and of gratifying his reader with remote allusions and unexpected instruction "

23 Retrospection An epic poem usually plunges (as Horace advises) *in medias res*, into the middle of the events narrated, and must therefore contain, somewhere or other, a *retrospective* account of what is supposed to have already happened In this way the regular sequence of events is broken up, and *variety* is secured. Similarly, there is usually an *anticipatory* summary of the events following the conclusion of the main action of the narrative *Paradise Lost*, for instance, begins with the council of Satan and his followers in Hell; the manner in which they came to be there is not described until Raphael's "retrospective" narrative, v. 562—v1 whilst in x1, x11, there is an "anticipatory" vision of the fortunes of Adam's descendants.

Morality, ethics, the study of moral philosophy.

25 Policy, the management of worldly affairs, worldly wisdom

Discriminations of character, the means of distinguishing the varieties of character amongst men

27 Physiology, the knowledge of *nature* (Greek, *physis*) in general not in its narrow modern sense. Compare note to page 9, line 6.

29. Painting Nature, describing Nature as it really exists.

Realising fiction, describing what is imaginary in such a way that it may seem to be real

30 Attained the whole extension, etc., mastered the full capabilities of the language in which he is writing. Compare page 22, lines 30, 31.

31. Colours of words, their ornamental and rhetorical uses : see note to page 44, line 14

33. Metrical modulation, the variation of sounds required by the metre to produce harmony. Some editions for *modulation* read *moderation*, which Deighton explains to mean modification, adjustment, or arrangement

34 Bossu, a French critic, who in 1675 published a Treatise on Epic poetry, in six books, treating of the fable, the action, the narration, the manners, the machinery, and the sentiments and expressions, of an epic. Hallam pronounces him "judicious and correct in taste, but without much depth."

A moral, a practical lesson, which his poem is to illustrate and enforce

Addison in the *Spectator*, No. 369, says that he cannot agree with Bossu that "an epic writer first of all pitches upon a certain moral, as the ground-work and foundation of his poem, and afterwards finds out a story to it I am, however, of opinion that no just heroic poem ever was or can be made, from whence one great moral may not be deduced That which reigns in Milton is the most universal and most useful that can be imagined, it is in short this, that obedience to the will of God makes men happy, and that disobedience makes them miserable."

Dryden, in the preface to his translation of the *Aeneid*, appears to assume that the *Iliad* was deliberately composed with a view to its moral tendency, and has a long defence of Virgil's "moral" in the *Aeneid*, which he asserts to have been "to infuse an awful respect into the people towards their prince by that respect to confirm their obedience to him, and by that obedience to make them happy." The first assumption, it is scarcely necessary to add, is absurd, and for the second there seems to be little ground

35 Fable, story ; the Latin *fabula*.

37 Incidental, subordinate to the story, to which it belongs as a mere incident ; in logical phrase, it is an *accident* of the subject, and is not of its essence

Consequent, following on the story, arising out of it.

38 Intrinsic, belonging to the very nature of the subject In Charles Lamb's opinion, "a moral should be wrought into the body and soul, the matter and tendency of a poem, not tagged to its end."

39 To vindicate, etc From Milton's invocation of the Divine Spirit at the beginning of Book 1 (22-26)—

"What in me is dark
Illumine, what is low raise and support,
That to the highth of this great argument
I may assert Eternal Providence,
And justify the ways of God to man"

Vindicate, justify, show to be just and right

Page 47 1 Artfully, skilfully

2 Surprise expectation, take the expectant reader unawares by something for which he was not prepared, otherwise he will probably weary of a work in which he finds nothing to arrest his attention

7 Recital, i.e., any narrative of events subordinate to the main action

11 The destruction, etc All of these enter into the *Æneid* of Virgil, where we have the destruction of Troy; the voyage of Æneas and his companions in search of the land which they were destined to colonise, and the founding in Italy of what was to be the Roman Empire

On this question of the *subject*, Hallam says that that of *Paradise Lost* is "the finest ever chosen for heroic poetry, it is also managed by Milton with remarkable skill The *Iliad* wants completeness the subject of the *Odyssey* is hardly extensive enough the *Æneid* is spread over too long a space. The *Pharsalia* is open to the same criticism as the *Iliad* the subject of the *Thebaid* possesses no interest in our eyes Tasso is far superior to most of these, yet the Fall of Man has a more general interest than the Crusade"

12 Conduct, leading forth.

14. The highest order, etc, namely, the angels, than whom man is said in the *Psalms* to be "a little lower."

16 A new race, etc, viz, mankind

Reasonable, possessing reason, rational

21 Agents, those who take part in the action of his poem

23 The elements consented The powers of Nature acted in sympathy with the actions of Adam and Eve, thus, when Eve ate the fatal fruit (*Paradise Lost*, 1x 782-5)—

"Earth felt the wound, and Nature from her seat,
Sighing through all her works, gave signs of woe,
That all was lost,"

and again (1x 1000) when Adam joins in her sin—

"Earth trembled from her entrails, as again
In pangs, and Nature gave a second groan,
Sky lowered, and, muttering thunder, some sad drops
Wept at completing of the mortal sin."

24 Deviation, a turning aside from the right course.

Depended, etc In *Genesis*, iii. 17, God says to Adam— "Cursed is the ground for thy sake.....thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee " This hint has been expanded by Milton in a long passage (x. 650-715), in which after the Fall the Creator commands his angels to make various changes in the elements, etc. Thus the Sun is made—

"So to move, so shine,
"As might affect the Earth with cold and heat
Scarce tolerable "

The moon and planets have malign influences assigned to them; winds and thunders, snow and hail and stormy gusts are let loose on the world, on which, but for the Fall, perpetual Spring would have smiled.

"Beast now with beast 'gan war, and fowl with fowl,
And fish with fish; to graze the herb all leaving,
Devoured each other; nor stood much in awe
Of Man, but fled him, or with countenance grim
Glared on him passing."

29. Of which, etc. From *Paradise Lost*, vi. 220-223 —

"Millions of fierce encountering angels fought
On either side, the least of whom could wield
These elements, and arm him with the force
Of all their regions "

30. Him, himself

32. Controul of Omnipotence, the control exercised over them by the Omnipotent Deity. *Controul* is a former way of spelling the word

35. Superiour, now spelt *superior*, in accordance with the Latin form.

"The spirits of Milton," says Macaulay, "are unlike those of almost all other writers. His fiends, in particular, are wonderful creations. They are not metaphysical abstractions. They are not wicked men. They are not ugly beasts. Their characters are, like their forms, marked by a certain dim resemblance to those of men, but exaggerated to gigantic dimensions, and veiled in mysterious gloom. Perhaps the gods and dæmons of Æschylus may best bear a comparison with the angels and devils of Milton."

40 Which admit of examination As he has already said, there are some characters (God the Father and the Son) whom it is irreverent even to name without good reason, much more to discuss critically

Page 48 3 Virtue. Milton uses this as the name of one of the orders in the celestial hierarchy ("Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers," v. 601) Hence in v. 371 he calls Raphael "the Angelic Virtue," a periphrasis for "Angel."

Raphael (in Hebrew "healer of God," *i.e.*, "divine healer") is not mentioned in the canonical books of the Bible, but only in the Apocrypha. In Milton, it is he who is sent to warn Adam of his danger: he is called "the sociable spirit" (v 221), and "the affable archangel" (vii 41). Compare the *Spectator*, 273—"Nor must we omit the person of Raphael, who, amidst his tenderness and friendship for man, shows such a dignity and condescension in all his speech and behaviour, as are suitable to a superior nature."

4. Free communication, because, when questioned by Adam, he readily consents to describe the Fall of Satan and the Creation of the World.

Michael. See note to page 20, line 2. His battle with Satan is described in book vi. In books xi., xii., he appears in person, and is styled "kingly" (xi 249). "Michael, on this occasion does not appear in that familiar manner with which Raphael, the sociable spirit, entertained the father of mankind before the Fall. His person, his port, and behaviour, are suitable to a spirit of the highest rank" (*Spectator*, 363).

6. Abdiel means in Hebrew "servant of God." When Satan was exciting his subordinates to rebellion, the only one who resisted him was—

"the seraph Abdiel, faithful found,
Among the faithless, faithful only he."

See *Paradise Lost*, v 805-907. Abdiel appears again in the account of the battle, vi 111-200, where, with "a noble stroke," he beats Satan himself to his knees.

Gabriel. See note to page 21, line 17. In *Paradise Lost*, vi. 45, he is described as "in military prowess next" to Michael, "of celestial armies Prince."

8. Amiably painted, described in such a way as to attract our liking and admiration.

10. As Addison observes. For Addison, see note to page 40, line 18. His essays on *Paradise Lost* appeared in the *Spectator*, on eighteen successive Saturdays, from January 5 to May 3, 1712. "Being dictated by taste" it has been said, "and written with elegance, these papers were extremely well received. It was taken for granted that these qualities were, of themselves, sufficient to form a great critic." The passage referred to by Johnson occurs in No. 303 of the *Spectator*—"His sentiments are every way answerable to his character, and suitable to a created being of the most exalted and depraved nature," *i.e.*, once most exalted, but now most depraved, in accordance with the proverb, *corruptio optimi pessima*, the best, when corrupted, becomes the worst.

12. Clarke, John Clarke (1687-1734), master of the grammar-school at Hull, and afterwards of that at Gloucester. Johnson is referring to his "Essay on Study, wherein directions are given for the due conduct thereof, and the collection of a Library," 1731.

13 No observation, etc., which cannot be excused on the ground that they are appropriate to the character.

17. Taint, corrupt, by infecting it with impious thoughts.

19 Happiness, success.

23 No otherwise offensive, etc., only offensive because they express general wickedness, there is no *particular* ground of offence in them

On this subject Addison remarks (*Spectator*, No. 303):—"Amidst those impieties which this enraged spirit utters, the author has taken care to introduce none that is not big with absurdity, and incapable of shocking a religious reader. He is likewise with great art described as owning his adversary to be Almighty the only consideration which could support his pride under the shame of his defeat "

27. Moloch, or "king," was originally a deity worshipped, with human sacrifices, by the Ammonites, one of the tribes with whom the Israelites came into contact in Palestine. Hence Milton describes him (l. 392) as—

" Moloch, horrid king, besmeared with blood
Of human sacrifice, and parents' tears "

In the battle he is described as threatening and blaspheming, until cloven to the waist by Gabriel (vi. 355-362). in the subsequent council he speaks directly after Satan, and advocates open war against God, Milton speaking of him (ll. 44-5) as—

" the strongest and the fiercest spirit
That fought in Heaven; now fiercer by despair "

In the *Spectator*, 309, Addison remarks that " the part of Moloch is in all its circumstances full of that fire and fury which distinguish this spirit from the rest of the fallen angels..... All his sentiments are rash, audacious, and desperate "

31. Their repasts, etc. Compare *Paradise Lost*, iv. 327—

" After no more toil
Of their sweet gardening labour than sufficed
To recommend cool zephyr, and made ease
More easy, wholesome thirst and appetite
More grateful, to their supper-fruits they fell ;

The savoury pulp they chew, and in the rind
Still as they thirsted scoop the brimming stream "

Their work is described again in v. 211-219, and their meal (of fruits) in v. 337-347.

33. Fruition, enjoyment (the Latin *fructio*), they had all that they wanted, and therefore had nothing for which to ask.

"Milton," says Hallam, "has displayed great skill in the delineations of Adam and Eve, he does not dress them up, after the fashion of orthodox theology, in the fancied robes of primitive righteousness. They are innocent, of course, but not less frail than their posterity, nor, except one circumstance, do we find any sign of depravity superinduced upon their transgression. It might even be made a question for profound theologians whether Eve, by taking amiss what Adam had said, and by self-conceit, did not sin before she tasted the fatal apple."

Page 49 2 Diligently, carefully Compare the remarks already made on Milton's view of women, page 39

3 The probable, etc "Aristotle observes that the fable in an epic poem should abound in circumstances that are both credible and astonishing, or, as the French critics choose to phrase it, the fable should be filled with the probable and the marvellous. If the fable is only probable, it differs nothing from a true history; if it is only marvellous, it is no better than a romance. The great secret, therefore, of heroic poetry, is to relate such circumstances as may produce in the reader at the same time both belief and astonishment" (*Spectator*, 315).

Vulgar, ordinary

4 Immerge, plunge, immerse we now use only the latter form, which is derived from the past participle, *immersus*, of the Latin verb *immergere*

6 Redemption, literally, buying back, ransoming; the deliverance of man through the death of Christ from the penalties incurred by sin

7 The probable, etc The conditions laid down above are satisfied the incidents of the narrative are miraculous and therefore astonishing, whilst at the same time they "are not only credible," as Addison says, "but actual points of faith." Indeed, there are only two incidents in the poem which Addison selects as being astonishing but not credible, namely, the account of the Paradise of Fools (see note to page 57, line 18), and the episode of Sin and Death (see notes to page 56)

9 Like necessity, an allusion to the proverb "necessity knows no law"

Superior to rule Even if it seems marvellous, it must be accepted; there is no choice, no alternative

10 Accidental, those parts which are not of the *essence* of the story, as told in Scripture, but are added by the poet. The same meaning is expressed by *adventitious*, something added from outside, from the Latin *ad-venire*, to come in addition.

11 Exceptions, objections

The main fabrick, etc, the *essence* of the poem, the main story, is founded on truth which cannot be shaken, since it forms part of an inspired revelation

So it may have seemed to Johnson, but the same could hardly be said at the present day. Mark Pattison has pointed out clearly that, though we are now better able than ever to appreciate the force, grace, and harmony of Milton's masterpiece, yet "it is losing its hold over our imagination. Strange to say, this failure of vital power in the constitution of the poem is due to the very selection of subject by which Milton sought to secure perpetuity. Not content with describing human passions and ordinary events, he aspired to present the destiny of the whole race of mankind, to tell the story of creation, and to reveal the councils of heaven and hell. And he would raise this structure upon no unstable base, but upon the sure foundation of the written Word. It would have been a thing incredible to Milton that the hold of the Jewish Scriptures over the imagination of English men and women could ever be weakened. This process, however, has already commenced. The demonology of the poem has already, with educated readers, passed from the region of fact into that of fiction. Not so universally, but with a large number of readers, the angelology can be no more than what the critics call *machinery*. And it requires a violent effort from any of our day to accommodate our conceptions to the anthropomorphic theology of *Paradise Lost*. . . Had Milton remembered the principle of Aristotle's *Poetics*, that *men* in action are the poet's proper theme, he would have raised his imaginative fabric on a more permanent foundation than any theological system. This perhaps was what Goethe meant, when he pronounced the subject of *Paradise Lost* to be *abominable, with a fair outside, but rotten inwardly*."

13. Remarkd by Addison "The third qualification of an epic poem is its greatness. Milton's subject was still greater than that of the *Iliad* or the *Æneid*: it does not determine the fate of single persons or nations, but of a whole species" (*Spectator*, 267). Hence, "it is impossible for any of its readers, whatever nation, country or people he may belong to, not to be related to the persons who are the principal actors in it, but what is still infinitely more to its advantage, the principal actors are not only our progenitors, but our representatives. We have an actual interest in everything they do, and no less than our utmost happiness lies at stake in their behaviour" (No 273).

18. Machinery. "The machinery is a term invented by the critics to signify that part which the deities, angels, or demons, are made to act in a poem" (Pope, in his Preface to the *Rape of the Lock*). The Greek words which follow mean "the god from the machine" Latin, *deus ex machina*), the *machine* being a theatrical contrivance for bringing the god upon the stage. It was usual in ancient plays to introduce a deity in order to solve a difficult situation in which the characters were involved: hence Horace, in his *Ars Poetica* (lines 191-2), lays down the rule that a god should not be so introduced unless the difficulty is worthy of such a solution, *i.e.*, cannot be solved in any other way but by divine interference.

22. The rule, that laid down by Horace

24. Episodes, subordinate narratives, introduced into the main story, to lend it more variety.

25 Relation, account, narrative In answer to a request from Adam, Raphael relates the causes of Satan's rebellion, and the subsequent struggle, v. 563—vi 912 This is a retrospective episode, whilst the next is an anticipatory one, see page 46, line 23

Michael's prophetick account, etc Michael leads Adam up a hill and shows him the history of his descendants, partly in a series of visions, the meaning of which he explains to Adam, partly by narrative, xi 376—xii. 606

27. The great action, the main action of the poem

As a warning "God to render man inexcusable sends Raphael to admonish him of his obedience, of his free estate, of his enemy near at hand, who he is, and why his enemy, and whatever else may avail Adam to know" (Argument to Book v)

28 As a consolation, for Adam and Eve have fallen and are about to be expelled from Paradise, but Michael ends his "prophetic account" by describing Christ's final triumph over Sin and Death, and Adam is "greatly satisfied and re-comforted by these relations and promises" (Argument to Book xii)

29. Integrity, in its primary sense, of 'wholeness, entireness;' from the Latin *integer*, whole. It is more commonly applied to a moral quality, viz., honesty, uprightness of conduct

30 What Aristotle requires, in his *Poetics* (or treatise on the Art of Poetry), chapter 23—"An epic should deal with one whole and complete action, which has a beginning, middle, and end, in order that, like one whole animal, it may produce its appropriate pleasure, and that it may not be like a history," in which various events, even though unrelated to each other, are narrated, if they happen about the same time "The action in Milton excels in this particular we see it contrived in hell, executed upon earth, and punished by heaven" (*Spectator*, 267)

33. Apparent, evident, obvious, compare page 23, line 14

Funeral games, such as are described at the funeral of Patroclus in *Iliad*, xxiii., and in memory of Anchises, *Æneid*, v

34 Description of a shield, such as that fashioned for Achilles by the god Hephaestus, *Iliad*, xviii, and for Æneas, *Æneid*, viii

The short digressions, etc In iii 1-55 we have the well-known address to Light, together with the pathetic account of the poet's own blindness, vii 1-39 contain the invocation of the Muse Urania, and the reference already quoted to the "evil days" on which Milton had fallen, whilst the passage ix 20-47 is also autobiographical

36 Superfluities, etc "I must confess there is so great a beauty in these very digressions, that I would not wish them out of his poem" (*Spectator*, 297)

37 The author of the *Iliad*, commonly known as Homer, though whether such a person ever existed is more than doubtful Johnson

means that he wishes the author of the *Iliad* had introduced similar autobiographical digressions, from which we might have learnt something about him.

40 Extrinsick, not belonging to the essence of the subject used in the same sense as the words *incidental*, *accidental* and *adventitious*, which we have had previously

End, the object aimed at.

Page 50 1. Be strictly one This was laid down by Aristotle (see the quotation above from the *Poetics*, 23), but he admits that an epic does not admit of so much unity in this respect as a tragedy, as is shown by the fact that materials for many tragedies may be derived from a single epic In Addison's opinion, however, *Paradise Lost* conforms to the rule, since it has no other episodes than such as naturally arise from the subject (*Spectator*, 267)

2. Heroick, that which celebrates the deeds of a hero. Whether this term can be applied here or not, is chiefly a question of words, hence, says Addison, "I shall waive the discussion of the point whether *Paradise Lost* may be called an heroic poem Those who will not give that title may call it (if they please) a divine poem" (*Spectator*, 267)

5 Calls it, etc. See the note to page 19, line 28.

6 Petulantly, wantonly and unnecessarily.

Indecently, in an unseemly manner probably with reference to Dryden's use of the terms *giant*, *knight* and *lady errant*, as quoted in the next note

The heroism of Adam, that Adam is the hero In the Introduction to his translation of the *Æneid*, Dryden wrote that Milton would have a good claim to be admitted amongst the heroic poets, "if the devil had not been his hero instead of Adam; if the giant had not foiled the knight and driven him out of his stronghold, to wander through the world with his lady errant"

"Satan," says Masson, "as all the critics have perceived, and in a wider sense than most of them have perceived, is the real hero of the poem. He and his actions are the link between that new World of Man, the infancy of which we behold in the poem, and that boundless antecedent Universe of Pre-human Existence, which the poem assumes What we follow in the poem, when its story is taken chronologically, is the life of this great being, from the time of his yet unimpaired archangelship on to that time when he flings himself into the new experimental world, and by success in his attempt, vitiates Man's portion of space, and wins possession of it for a season" (*Works*, i 78) In Hallam's judgment "the conception of Satan is doubtless the first effort of Milton's genius," but it is perhaps "only pedantry to talk about the *hero*, as if a high personage were absolutely required in an epic poem to predominate over the rest" Addison also remarks (*Spectator*, No. 297) that "he

that looks for a hero in *Paradise Lost*, searches for that which Milton never intended but if he will needs fix the name of a hero upon any person in it, it is certainly the Messiah who is the hero."

9 Cato, Marcus Porcius Cato (B C 95-46), the younger, commonly distinguished by the name *Uticensis*, from Utica in Africa, where he committed suicide when Cæsar's success was no longer doubtful. A narrow-minded and rigid republican, he took a prominent part in the civil war against Cæsar, on the side of Pompey and the Senate, and is nominally the hero of the *Pharsalia*, an epic poem descriptive of the war, by *Lucan*, *i.e.*, Marcus Annaeus Lucanus, a nephew of the philosopher Seneca. Lucan was born in Spain, A D 39, but came to Rome at an early age and soon attracted attention by his poetry. He affected republican views, and was accused of being concerned in the plot of Piso against the emperor Nero (65 A D), in consequence of which the young poet was compelled to commit suicide by opening his veins. The *Pharsalia* was never revised or completed if it had been, Cæsar would have been the true hero, as much as Satan in *Paradise Lost*, and equally against the wish of the author, whose purpose is indicated by the celebrated line—*Victrix causa deus placuit, sed victa Catoni*, the conquering side found favour with Heaven, but the conquered with Cato.

10 But Lucan's, etc., the fact that Lucan chose a representative of the unsuccessful side as his hero, is not held by Quintilian to justify a departure from the usual practice.

Quintilian. Marcus Fabius Quintilianus was a Roman rhetorician and critic of the first century A.D, who has always been regarded as one of the greatest authorities on Rhetoric. He regards Lucan as a model for orators rather than for poets.

11. If success be necessary, etc. The first defect in the "fable" discussed by Addison (*Spectator*, 297) is its unhappy event—"We see Adam and Eve sinking from a state of innocence and happiness into the most abject condition of sin and sorrow. Milton seems to have been sensible of this imperfection, and has endeavoured to cure it by several expedients, particularly by the mortification which the great adversary of mankind meets with upon his return to the assembly of infernal spirits (book x), and likewise by the vision, wherein Adam at the close of the poem sees his offspring triumphing over his great enemy, and himself restored to a happier Paradise than that from which he fell." "In short, Satan is represented miserable in the height of his triumphs, and Adam triumphant in the height of misery" (No. 369)

14 Scheme and fabrick, plan and mode of construction

15. Sentiments. "The *sentiments* in an epic poem are the thoughts and behaviour which the author ascribes to the persons whom he introduces, and are *just* when they are conformable to the characters of the several persons" (*Spectator*, 279).

17. Unexceptionably, so that no *exception*, or objection, can be taken to them.

20. No human manners. By *manners* is meant the *characters* of the persons introduced. Adam and Eve, being at first in a state of perfect innocence, are super-human, rather than human: it is only after the Fall that they descend to the ordinary human level.

21. End Object.

22. Sublunary, earthly, belonging to this world: literally, situated beneath the moon, from the Latin *sub*, under, *luna*, the moon.

23. Abdiel See note to page 48, line 6.

His singularity of virtue alludes to the fact that he alone was faithful. Compare *Paradise Lost*, v 901-904:—

“Nor number nor example with him wrought
To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind,
Though *single* From amidst them forth he passed,
Long way through hostile *scorn*.”

Similarly Addison speaks of Abdiel as exhibiting to us “a noble moral of religious *singularity*” (*Spectator*, 327).

24. Accommodated, adapted to the circumstances of.

25. Raphael's reproof, etc. In viii. 15-38 Adam expresses his wonder that so many heavenly bodies should exist and be engaged in their ceaseless journeys through the sky, merely to give light to this insignificant and “sedentary” earth. In a long speech (66-178) Raphael partly answers his difficulties, partly exhorts him not to trouble himself about “matters hid;”—

“Leave them to God above, him serve and fear.
..... Heaven is for thee too high
To know what passes there; be lowly wise;
Think only what concerns thee and thy being ”

Curiosity after, desire to know about.

26. Planetary motions, the movements of the planets. Adam's question, however, has reference to the stars in general.

The answer, etc., in viii. 180-216—

“How fully hast thou satisfied me, pure
Intelligence of Heaven, angel serene,
And, freed from intricacies, taught to live
The easiest way, nor with perplexing thoughts
To interrupt the sweet of life,” etc.

27. Opposed to, put into competition with.

29. The progress, the course of the narrative.

31. Fervid, ardent, glowing with zeal, literally, burning.
32. Curiosity, the spirit of enquiry, thirst for knowledge; here used in a good sense.
33. Sublimate, refine and purify The word is technically applied to the heating of a solid until it passes into vapour, which is then allowed to cool, and the solid is re-deposited, freed from its impurities.
- 39 The elegant, which on page 41 was said to be one of the merits of *short* compositions

His element, the element which is congenial to him, in which he feels at home "Milton's chief talent, and indeed his distinguishing excellence, lies in the sublimity of his thoughts.... In the greatness of his sentiments he triumphs over all the poets, both modern and ancient, Homer only excepted" (*Spectator*, 279).

Page 51: 1 Port, bearing, manner, demeanour; literally, the way in which one carries oneself, from the Latin *portare*, to carry.

9 Without the censure, etc., without incurring the charge of being extravagant in his fancy; the subject itself was so vast, that it would be scarcely possible for the imagination to exceed the due bounds.

18 Accompany is used technically for playing on a musical instrument the air to which words are being sung.

25 Original form, i.e., from actual Nature,

26 Raciness, the freshness and liveliness which is peculiar to it. *Racy* literally means 'full of the spirit of its *race*,' hence 'possessing a peculiar flavour which indicates its origin'

27 As Dryden expresses it, in his Essay on Dramatic Poesy (1668) — "Shakespeare was naturally learned he needed not the spectacles of books to read Nature, he looked inwards, and found her there."

Pattison has some remarks on this subject, more especially with reference to *L'Allegro* (pages 24-28) He quotes some inaccuracies which "must be set down partly to conventional language used without meaning, partly to real defect of natural knowledge..... Milton had neither the eye nor the ear of a naturalist. At no time was he an exact observer of natural objects... He is not a man of the fields, but of books His life is in his study, and when he steps abroad into the air he carries his study thoughts with him. He does look at Nature, but he sees her through books Natural impressions are received from without, but always in those forms of beautiful speech in which the poets of all ages have clothed them. His epithets.. are expressive of a real emotion in the spectator's soul, not of any quality detected by a keen insight in the things themselves."

29. Vale of Enna. See *Paradise Lost*, iv. 268:—

“ Not that fair field—
Of Enna, where Proserpin gathering flowers,
Herself a fairer flower, by gloomy Dis
Was gathered, which cost Ceres all that pain
To seek her through the world
. . . . might with this Paradise
Of Eden strive.”

Persephone (Proserpina), the daughter of Demeter (Ceres), was gathering flowers near Enna, in Sicily, when she was carried off by Pluto (Dis), the god of the infernal regions, to be his queen. Demeter sought for her daughter all over the world, until at last it was arranged that Persephone should spend six months of each year with her mother, and the other six in the nether world.

30. Satan, etc. See *Paradise Lost*, 11. 1014.—

“ And through the shock
Of fighting elements, on all sides round
Environed, wins his way; harder beset
And more endangered, than when Argo passed
Through Bosphorus betwixt the justling rocks;
Or when Ulysses on the larboard shunned
Charybdis, and by the other whirlpool steered.”

31. Argo was the mythical vessel in which the Argonauts, led by Jason, sailed from Greece to recover the golden fleece from Colchis, a country on the Black Sea. To reach the latter they had to pass through the Bosphorus, on which Constantinople now stands, and just beyond it there were said to be two rocky islands called the *Cyanean* rocks, or the *Symplegades* (“clashing together”), which struck violently together when any thing, even a bird, attempted to pass between them. Jason, however, was enabled by the favour of the gods to pass through safely, after which the rocks remained fixed in their positions, and ceased to be a terror to navigators. Homer, it is true, does not adopt the last part of the legend: Odysseus is warned that “no ship of men ever escapes that comes thither, but the planks of ships and bodies of men confusedly are tossed by the waves of the sea. One ship only of all that fare by sea hath passed that way, even Argo” (*Odyssey*, xii.).

Ulysses, the Latin form of the Greek Odysseus, the hero of the *Odyssey*. He is warned to beware of two rocks, between which he must pass; on one dwells the monster Scylla, with six heads, who seizes and devours what she can of passers-by, whilst beneath the other, “mighty Charybdis sucks down black water, for thrice a day she spouts it forth, and thrice a day she sucks it down” (*Odyssey*, xii.). To avoid the whirlpool, Odysseus sails close by the rock of Scylla, who seizes six of his crew. Tradition placed Scylla and Charybdis on the two sides of the narrow strait between Sicily and Italy, and according to Virgil, “on the right Scylla keeps guard, on the left unassuaged Charybdis” (*Æneid*, 111. 420). Hence Milton puts Charybdis on the *larboard*, the former nautical term for the *left* side of a ship (to a person looking

straight ahead on the vessel's course). The right side is called *starboard*, which was apt to be confused, in giving orders at critical moments, with *larboard*, and so for the latter term *port* is now used.

It will be noticed that Milton differs from Homer and Virgil in making Scylla a whirlpool as well as Charybdis.

34. With notice of their vanity The reader is not always cautioned to remember that they are only fictions, whereas the Scriptural allusions are true. Vanity, emptiness, unreality.

Addison too regards as "a blemish" Milton's "frequent allusion to heathen fables, which are not certainly of a piece with the divine subject of which he treats" "I do not find fault with these allusions, where the poet himself represents them as fabulous, as he does in some places, but where he mentions them as truths and matters of fact" (*Spectator*, 297) The fact is that "to Milton the personages of the heathen Pantheon were not merely familiar fictions, or established poetical properties, they were evil spirits" (Pattison, 198) In common with the early Christian writers, Milton held that the evil angels had been permitted to deceive mankind under the guise of the false gods of Greece and Rome, as well as those mentioned in Scripture. But Milton was almost the last great writer to hold this doctrine to Addison and Johnson it was an incredible blending of the real and the unreal, the Biblical legends they had no difficulty in accepting, but they were repelled by those of Greece and Rome And thus the disintegrating process had already begun, which is destroying the hold of Milton's work over the imagination of posterity see the note to page 49, line 11.

37 His similes etc In the *Spectator*, 303, Addison says on this subject that "when Milton alludes to either persons or things, he never quits his simile till it rises to some very great idea, which is often foreign to the occasion that gave birth to it. The resemblance does not, perhaps, last above a line or two, but the poet runs on with the hint, till he has raised out of it some glorious image or sentiment, proper to inflame the mind of the reader, and to give it that sublime kind of entertainment, which is suitable to the nature of an heroic poem"

39 Amplitude, largeness, fullness; the "extensiveness" of page 50, lines 37, 38

Page 52. 1 Adventitious image See note to page 49, line 10. Here the simile is called *adventitious* because it is not strictly part of the subject-matter, but is introduced from outside to supplement and explain it.

2 The shield of Satan. See *Paradise Lost*, 1 284—

"His ponderous shield,
Ethereal temper, massy, large and round,
Behind him cast; the broad circumference
Hung on his shoulders like the moon, whose orb
Through optic glass the Tuscan artist views

At evening from the top of Fesolé,
Or in Valdarno, to descry new lands,
Rivers or mountains in her spotty globe."

The "Tuscan artist" is Galileo, who first applied the telescope to astronomical purposes.

6. Hardly praise, because the credit is due to the sacred source from which he derived them, and which was not available for his predecessors, the epic poets of Greece and Rome.

9 Wanting the light, etc., i.e., not possessing the moral lessons and the knowledge of the Divine nature which are revealed in Scripture.

11. Amiable, lovable.

16 Supposed in vain, may be assumed to exist, and yet produce no effect. We must assume that Ariosto and Tasso were acquainted with the teachings of Christianity, and yet their poetry shows scarcely more trace of it than that of Homer or Virgil

Ariosto, Ludovico Ariosto (1474-1533), one of the four greatest Italian poets, his masterpiece was the *Orlando Furioso*, dealing with the wars of Charlemagne and Roland ("Orlando") against the Saracens

Pravity, depravity, viciousness.

17 Deliverance of Jerusalem The *Gerusalemme Liberata* was the masterpiece of Tasso (see note to page 7, line 4). It deals with the first Crusade for the delivery of Jerusalem from the Mahomedans.

33 Conceive, form an idea of; we cannot have any *practical* acquaintance with it, as we have with the fallen state.

39 The port, etc From *Paradise Lost*, xi 8. Compare note to page 51, line 1

40. They rise again, etc., we look upon them once more with respect and reverence

Page 53. 7 On one occasion, in Book ix 1015-1045.

"But that false fruit
Far other operation first displayed,
Carnal desire inflaming," etc.,

9 Argumentative, exhibited in arguments.

13. Discover, disclose, reveal.

15 Had been, would have been (if I had once begun).

21 Bentley, Richard [Bentley] (1662-1742), a great classical scholar and critic, and Master of Trinity College, Cambridge for forty years. He published various critical editions of classical authors, but when he applied the same methods to *Paradise Lost*, the results

were somewhat disastrous, especially as he assumed that the blind poet had employed both an amanuensis, who made numerous involuntary mistakes, and an editor, who not only did the same, but deliberately interpolated bad verses of his own. For this piece of work Bentley is satirised by Pope, who, speaking of Milton (*Epistle to Augustus*, 103-4), says—

"Not that I'd lop the beauties from his book,
Like slashing Bentley with his desperate hook."

23 Made them, fancied that they existed where they really do not.

Obtrusions, cases where he thrust himself forward.

26. Allowed, admitted, acknowledged.

28. Human manners Compare page 50, line 21.

31. Can be engaged, *i. e.*, can imagine himself as engaged, the circumstances being so different. On the other hand, Addison remarks that "Adam's crime proceeds from a weakness which every man is inclined to pardon, as it seems the frailty of human nature Every one is apt to excuse a fault which he himself might have fallen into. It was the excess of love for Eve that ruined Adam and his posterity" (*Spectator*, 357).

34 We all, etc. Compare the Articles of Religion of the Church of England, ix—"Original sin.... is the fault and the corruption of the Nature of every man, that naturally is ingendered of the offspring of Adam; whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil ... and therefore in every person born into this world it deserves God's wrath and damnation."

39. Surely, certainly, beyond doubt.

Page. 54. 8 Stated hours, *viz.*, those set apart for religious exercises

Require their association, compel us to bring them together, and attend to them

9. Horror, a former way of spelling *horror*, we have now returned to the latter (or Latin) form in some, though not all, words of this type, *e g.*, in England we still usually write *labour, colour*, but the Americans prefer *labor, color*.

10 Counterpoises, forces sufficient to counterbalance we employ them to check our selfish feelings and passions, if the latter seem to be getting too strong for us

13. Pleasure and terror, etc Compare the celebrated definition of Tragedy in Aristotle's *Poetics*, chapter vi—"Tragedy is an imitation of some action that is important, entire, and of a proper magnitude, by language embellished and rendered *pleasurable*, in the way, not of narrative, but of action effecting through Pity and *Terror* the purgation of such passions,"

16. Too ponderous, etc., too great for human intelligence to deal with.

20. Known truths, etc. What we knew before, Johnson has said, cannot be learnt anew; but it may be presented to the mind under a new form, by a "new train of intermediate images," *i.e.*, images which intervene between the mind and the truth intended to be conveyed.

22. Pregnancy, fertility of invention.

24. Radical positions, literally, statements which lie at the root of the matter; those, therefore, which afford a basis for the poem. "It is possible that the traditions on which the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid* were built had more circumstances in them than the history of the Fall of Man, as related in Scripture. Besides, it was easier for Homer and Virgil to dash the truth with fiction, as they were in no danger of offending the religion of their country by it. But, as for Milton, he had not only a very few circumstances upon which to raise his poem, but was also obliged to proceed with the greatest caution in everything that he added" (*Spectator*, 267).

26. Ramified, caused them to branch out; from the Latin *ramus*, a branch of a tree. The verb is now more commonly used intransitively.

27. Licentiousness of fiction, licence, or over-freedom, in the matter of invention. "The additions which Milton's fancy or inspiration might supply must be restrained by this severe law, they should be such as to aid the reader's imagination to conceive how the event, took place. They must by no means be suffered to alter, disfigure, traduce the substance or the letter of the revelation. This is what Milton has done. The whole of the seventh book is little more than a paraphrase of a few verses of *Genesis*. What he has added is so little incongruous with his original, that most English men and women would probably have some difficulty in discriminating in recollection the part they derive from Moses from that which they have added from Milton" (Pattison).

33. Fermented, stirred into internal motions, like the effervescent changes produced in bread and other substances by the presence of a *ferment*.

35. Indecent hyperbole, unseemly exaggeration: the Greek word *hyper-bole* literally means 'throwing too far,' hence, overshooting the mark, exaggerating.

36. Encomiasts. See note to page 6, line 16.

38. Original deficiency, what is wanting from the very nature of the subject. We now use *deficiency*.

Page. 55. 7. Immaterial, that which is not material, but spiritual only.

Supplied no images, because "images" are based on the knowledge we derive through our senses, and that which is immaterial cannot be apprehended by the senses "What is spirit?" asks Macaulay, "what are our own minds, the portion of spirit with which we are best acquainted? We observe certain phenomena We cannot explain them into material causes. We therefore infer that there exists something which is not material But of this something we have no idea We use the word, but we have no image of the thing, and the business of poetry is with images, and not with words The poet uses words indeed, but ... they are the materials which he is to dispose in such a manner as to present a picture to the mental eye."

8 But by instruments, etc., except by the help of such means as we see used by living agents in this material world to pass through space they must have feet, or wings, to fight they must have weapons; and so forth.

10. Should have secured, etc, This is easily said; but what if Milton could not seduce his readers to drop immateriality from their thoughts? What if the contrary opinion had taken so full a possession of the minds of men as to leave no room even for the half-belief which poetry requires? Such we suspect to have been the case It was impossible for the poet to adopt altogether the material or the immaterial system He therefore left the whole in ambiguity He has, doubtless, by so doing laid himself open to the charge of inconsistency But though philosophically in the wrong, we cannot but believe that he was poetically in the right" (Macaulay) In the opinion of Hallam also, "the subject forbade him to preserve consistency, if indeed there be inconsistency in supposing a rapid assumption of form by spiritual beings For though the instance that Johnson alleges of inconsistency in Satan's animating a toad was not necessary, yet his animation of the serpent was absolutely indispensable."

13 Perplexed, entangled and confused The poetry required material images, whilst the philosophy required that nothing incongruous should be ascribed to immaterial beings

15 When Satan walks. See *Paradise Lost*, l. 295—

"His spear . . .
He walked with to support uneasy steps
Over the burning marle "

Marl is, properly, a mixed kind of soil, containing lime, sand, and clay in varying proportions

16 In his passage See *Paradise Lost*, ll. 927-950—

"At last his sail-broad vans
He spreads for flight, and in the surging smoke
Uplifted spurns the ground, thence many a league,
As in a cloudy chair, ascending rides

Audacious ; but, that seat soon failing, meets
 A vast vacuity all unawares,
 Fluttering his pennons vain, plumb down he drops
 Ten thousand fathom deep, and to this hour
 Down had been falling, had not by ill chance
 The strong rebuff of some tumultuous cloud,
 Instinct with fire and nitre, hurried him
 As many miles aloft," *etc.*

18. Animates the toad. See *Paradise Lost*, iv. 800—

" Him there they found
 Squat like a toad, close at the ear of Eve,
 Assaying by his devilish art to reach
 The organs of her fancy."

" After all," remarks Hallam, " Satan does not animate a real toad, but takes the shape of one But he does enter a real serpent, so that the instance of Johnson is ill chosen."

19 At pleasure, in any way that it pleases.

20. Starts up, *etc.* See *Paradise Lost*, iv. 810-819—

" Him thus intent Ithuriel with his spear
 Touched lightly ; for no falsehood can endure
 Touch of celestial temper, but returns
 Of force to its own likeness . up he starts,
 Discovered and surprised
 So started up in his own shape the Fiend."

21. Determined, definite.

22. A spear and shield See *Paradise Lost*, iv. 989—

" Nor wanted in his grasp
 What seemed both spear and shield "

On the words *what seemed* Mr. Browne remarks, " a hesitating touch that spoils the picture. Milton was apparently struck with the material nature he had assigned to these spiritual beings."

24 Vulgar, ordinary ; as distinguished from Satan and the other leaders, the " great seraphic lords."

Pandæmonium, " the high capital of Satan and his peers" (1 756) literally, the place of all the demons, from Greek *pan*, all, and *daemon*. The word is also used as a common term, to express the scene of a noisy and riotous assembly.

Being incorporeal, *etc* See *Paradise Lost*, i. 789—

" Thus incorporeal spirits to smallest forms
 Reduced their shapes immense ; and were at large,
 Though without number still amidst the hall
 Of that infernal court. But far within,
 And in their own dimensions like themselves,
 The great seraphic lords and cherubim
 In close recess and secret conclave sat."

25 At large, free from restraint, not confined or pressed for room, though there was an innumerable host of them in a limited space This power of contraction or expansion at will has already been explained at 1 423-431, and thus, as Addison remarks (*Spectator*, 303), the incident quoted above, "which is what the French critics call *marvellous*," is rendered *probable*

26 In the battle, etc In vi. 639-661 we are told how the angelic host tore up hills from their foundations and hurled them upon their opponents—

"Themselves invaded next, and on their heads
Main promontories flung, which in the air
Came shadowing, and opprest whole legions armed
Their armour helped their harm, crush'd in and bruised
Into their substance pent, which wrought them pain
Implacable, and many a dolorous groan,
Long struggling underneath, ere they could wind
Out of such prison, though spirits of purest light,
Purest at first, now gross by sinning grown "

29 Overthrown the sooner, etc. See *Paradise Lost*, vi 593—

"Down they fell
By thousands, angel on archangel rolled,
The sooner for their arms, unarmed they might
Have easily, as spirits, evaded swift
By quick contraction or remove, but now
Foul dissipation followed, and forced rout."

For, by reason of.

30 Evaded, escaped,

Remove, removal, change of position

34 Uriel, "the Light of God," an archangel who is described in iii 622-653 as having charge of the sun, from which he descends to warn Gabriel that an evil spirit is wandering in the neighbourhood of the earth Thus, in iv 555—

"Thither came Uriel, gliding through the even
On a sunbeam;"

and again (iv 589-592)—

"And Uriel to his charge
Returned on that bright beam, whose point now raised
Bore him slope downward to the sun, now fallen
Beneath the Azores "

35 When he is afraid, etc In *Paradise Lost*, ix 480—

"Behold alone
The woman, opportune to all attempts;
Her husband, for I view far round, not nigh,
Whose higher intellectual more I shun,
And strength, of courage haughty, and of limb

Heroic built, though of terrestrial mould;
Foe not formidable, exempt from wound,
I not, so much hath Hell debased, and pain
Enfeebled me, to what I was in Heaven."

37. Incongruity, want of consistency The incident most incongruous to modern taste is the use of artillery by the evil angels in the second day's battle "But it would not seem so improbable to Milton's contemporaries, not only because it was an article of the received poetic tradition, as because fire-arms had not quite ceased to be regarded as a devilish enginery of a new warfare, unfair in the knightly code of honour" (Pattison, page 190).

The book, namely Book vi Addison, on the other hand, speaks of Milton as rising (if possible) above himself in this book.

Page 56 5 Fame, etc., "Virgil has, indeed, admitted Fame as an actress in the *Æneid*, but the part she acts is very short, and none of the most admired circumstances in that divine work" (*Spectator*, 273) Addison returns to the subject in No 357, where he speaks "more at large of such shadowy and imaginary persons . who are very beautiful in poetry when they are just shown, without being engaged in any series of actions .. But when such persons are introduced as principal actors, and engaged in a series of adventures, they take too much upon them, and are by no means proper for an heroic poem, which ought to appear credible in its principal parts I cannot forbear, therefore, thinking that Sin and Death are as improper agents in a work of this nature, as Strength and Necessity in one of the tragedies of *Æschylus*, who represented those two persons nailing down Prometheus to a rock "

6 Standard, a military banner or ensign

9. Non-entity, that which has no existence, and cannot therefore be a cause producing effects.

10. *Æschylus*, (525 B C —456), the first of the three great tragic poets of Athens Seven of his plays are extant, amongst them the "Prometheus Bound," in which the Titan Prometheus is chained to a lonely rock by *Violence* and *Strength*, that he may be tortured for his rebellion against Zeus

11. Euripides. See note to page 38, line 1 His *Alcestis* was first performed at Athens in 438 B. C

12 No precedents, etc Though *Æschylus* and Euripides have been guilty of the same absurdity, that does not excuse Milton Addison raises similar objections in the *Spectator*, 273, but adds that "if such empty, unsubstantial beings may be ever made use of, never were any more nicely imagined, and employed in more proper actions, than those of which I am now speaking "

13. Allegory of Sin and Death. This will be found in ii 648-870 Milton gives Sin charge of the gates of Hell, whilst Death is her son by Satan himself Addison speaks very highly of this passage, "when not considered as a part of an epic poem" (*Spectator*, 309).

14 Allowed, admitted.

15 Portress, the feminine of *portes*, a servant who has charge of a door or gate (French, *porte*, a gate).

20. Sensible, capable of being perceived by the senses. The difficulties of the passage have been alluded to on page 65.

21. Figurative, as part of the allegory.

22 Not less local, occupying as definite a portion of space as the Earth itself

24. Chaotick. Both Hell and the Starry Universe amid which we live are represented by Milton as being separated off from the general body of Chaos at the time of their creation; see the diagrams given in Masson's editions of the poem

25 Worked up, etc See *Paradise Lost*, x. 293—

"The aggregated soil

Death with his mace petrific, cold and dry,
As with a trident smote, and fixed as firm
As Delos floating once, the rest his look
Bound with Gorgonian rigor not to move;
And with Asphaltic slime, broad as the gate,
Deep to the roots of Hell the gathered beach
They fastened, and the mole immense wrought on,
Over the foaming Deep high arched, a bridge
Of length prodigious, joining to the wall
Immovable of this now fenceless world,
Forfeit to Death from hence a passage broad,
Smooth, easy, inoffensive, down to Hell "

Mole, an embankment or causeway

Aggravated, literally, made heavier but Milton's word is *aggregated*, *z e*, collected into a mass.

26 Asphaltus, the Greek name for *bitumen*, a black tarry substance found in many parts of the world, and used as a water-proof cement

Ideal, existing only in fancy, not real The work is described as real, whilst the supposed builders are only allegorical abstractions.

28 But, except

"The necessary paucity of actors in *Paradise Lost* is perhaps the apology of Sin and Death, they will not bear exact criticism, yet we do not wish them away" (Hallam) This explanation was suggested by Addison, in the *Spectator*, 273

31 With great expectation, in such a way that the reader is led to expect some important result see *Paradise Lost*, iv 841-1015 On finding Satan in the garden, Zephon and Ithuriel order him to follow them Gabriel sees their approach, and prepares his angels

for a struggle; an angry discussion follows between Satan and Gabriel; and they are on the point of coming to blows, when "the Eternal" gives a celestial sign, and the Fiend "fled murmuring."

33 Is represented, etc. In vii 150, *seq.*—

"But lest his heart exalt him in the harm
Already done, to have dispeopled Heaven,
My damage fondly deemed, I can repair
That detriment, if such it be to lose
Self-lost, and in a moment will create
Another world, out of one man a race
Of men innumerable "

34 Rise in Heaven. See *Paradise Lost*, i 650—

"Space may produce new worlds, whereof so rise
There went a fame in Heaven that he ere long
Intended to create, and therein plant
A generation, whom his choice regard
Should favour equal to the sons of Heaven "

Similarly Beelzebub says (ii. 345)—

"There is a place
(If ancient and prophetic fame in Heaven
Err not), another world, the happy seat
Of some new race called Man, about this time
To be created like to us," *etc*

Rise, prevalent, widely-spread

36. To find sentiments, etc., i. e., to invent speeches for Adam and Eve before the Fall, newly created as they were, and without ordinary human experience, it was difficult to find subjects for them to talk about "Homer and Virgil introduced persons whose characters are commonly known among men..... Milton's characters, most of them, he out of Nature, and were to be formed purely by his own invention . . . Adam and Eve before the Fall are a different species from that of mankind who are descended from them, and none but a poet of the most unbounded invention, and the most exquisite judgment, could have filled their conversation and behaviour with so many circumstances during their state of innocence" (*Spectator*, 279 compare No 321)

37. Something of anticipation, etc Adam and Eve sometimes speak as if they already knew what they could only learn by subsequent experience

Discovered, disclosed

38 Of dreams, i. e., on the subject of dreams The passage referred to is that beginning at v 100—

" But know that in the soul
Are many lesser faculties, that serve
Reason as chief, among these Fancy next
Her office holds," *etc.*

39. His answer, etc This is the passage (viii. 180, *seq.*) already referred to on page 50, line 26.

40. Want something of, is not to some extent wanting in propriety, or inappropriate.

Page 57 3 Timorous deer Deer do not seem to be mentioned in *Paradise Lost*, but Raphael (in vi 857) compares the evil angels, driven in terror before the Son of God, to "a herd of goats or timorous flock together thronged," &c, sheep

It was only after the Fall that Fear (like Death) entered Paradise

5 Dryden remarks In his *Essay on Satire* he says of Milton, "it is true, he runs into a flat of thought, sometimes for a hundred lines together, but it is when he is got into a track of Scripture " And again, in the *Preface to Tonson's Second Miscellany* "*Paradise Lost* is admirable; but am I therefore to maintain that there are no flats among his elevations, when it is evident he creeps along sometimes for a hundred lines together?" Similarly, in the *Epistle to Augustus* (99-102), Pope has —

"Milton's strong pinion now not Heaven can bound,
Now, serpent-like, in prose he sweeps the ground,
In quibbles angel and archangel join,
And God the Father turns a school-divine."

7 A palace, etc However fine the building is, it cannot be one mass of splendid rooms there must be passages of less beauty between room and room Johnson says much the same of Dryden "An imperial crown cannot be one continued diamond the gems must be held together by some less valuable matter "

10 Vicissitude, alternation, regular succession.

12 Expatiated, wandered at large, roamed freely about. from the Latin *ex-spatriari*.

15 Versed in, well-acquainted with, familiar with The imitations of Dante are not so many, in Hallam's opinion, as might have been expected, probably because Dante was not the favourite poet of Italy in the time of Milton's youth he was therefore likely to have committed to memory more of Ariosto, Tasso, and Marini, than of their great predecessor.

17. Ariosto's levity Compare page 52 line 16 Hallam calls Ariosto, "after Homer, the favourite poet of Europe His grace and facility, his clear and rapid stream of language, his variety and beauty of invention, left him no rival in general popularity . . It has been sometimes hinted as an objection to Ariosto, that he is not sufficiently in earnest, and leaves a little suspicion of laughing at his subject I do not perceive that he does this in a greater degree than good sense and taste permit . It is the light carelessness of his manner which constitutes a great part of its charm."

18. Paradise of Fools. See *Paradise Lost*. iii. 440-497.—

"So on this windy sea of land, the Fiend
Walked up and down alone. . .
.....But store hereafter from the Earth
Up hither like aerial vapours flew
Of all things transitory and vain
. . . All these upwhirled aloft
Fly o'er the backside of the world far off
Into a limbo large and broad, since called
The Paradise of Fools."

Ariosto had placed this receptacle of foolish and useless things in the Moon; but Milton on the outer convex side of the Universe in which this Earth is placed, "not in the neighbouring moon, as some have dreamed" (iii 459) The passage is censured also by Addison (*Spectator*, 297), as savouring of the spirit of Spenser and Ariosto, rather than of Homer and Virgil

20. Play on words Addison (*Spectator*, 297) also criticises this fondness on the part of Milton for "a kind of jingle in his words," which, as Keightley claims to have been the first to point out, appears to be an imitation of the plays upon words occasionally found in Scripture. Instances in the *Paradise Lost* are —

"Brought into the world a world of woe."

"Begirt the Almighty throne
Beseeching or besieging."

"Which tempted our attempt"

"At one slight bound high overleapt all bound."

"And famish him of breath if not of bread."

(ix 11; v. 869; i. 642, iv. 181; xii 78). Again in No 279 of his paper, Addison speaks of the passage, vi. 607-630, where the evil spirits are described as jeering at the angels: this, he says, he looks upon as "the most exceptionable passage in the whole poem, being nothing else but a string of puns, and those too, very indifferent."

Equivocations, ambiguous terms, terms used in a double sense.

Compare page 42, line 37

21 Bentley. See note to page 53, line 21.

To defend "Bentley on the contrary speaks of them as 'deservedly censured,' but attributes some of them to the imaginary editor, whom he made responsible for all he disapproved" (Ryland).

22. Terms of art, technical terms Compare the *Spectator*, 297.—
"The last fault which I shall take notice of in Milton's style is the frequent use of what the learned call technical words, or terms of art. It is one of the great beauties of poetry to make hard things intelligible, and to deliver what is abstruse in easy language; besides that the knowledge of a poet should rather

seem born with him, or inspired, than drawn from books and systems " Addison quotes as examples, *laboard*, *Doric pillars*, *pilasters*, *cornice*, *freeze*, *architrave*, *echptic*, *eccentric*, *the trepidation*, *stars dropping from the zenith*, *rays culminating from the equator*, etc He adds that "Milton seems ambitious of letting us know that he was acquainted with the whole circle of arts and sciences."

- 24 At last, when all has been said about them
- 27. Put in balance with, regard as counterbalancing.
- 28. Nice, fastidious and difficult to satisfy.
- 33 Effusions, outpourings.

"In this poem," says Pattison, "he has not only curbed his imagination, but has almost suppressed it.. The usual explanation of the frigidity of *Paradise Regained* is the suggestion which is nearest at hand, *viz*, that it is the effect of age .. Another view of the matter is, however, at least possible Milton's theory as to the true mode of handling a Biblical subject was to add no more dressing, or adventitious circumstance, than should assist the conception of the sacred verity After he had executed *Paradise Lost* the suspicion arose that he had been too indulgent to his imagination; that he had created too much So in *Paradise Regained* Milton has carried simplicity of dress to the verge of nakedness It is probably the most unadorned poem extant in any language" The poem is, in fact, simply a paraphrase of the narrative of Christ's Temptation, as given in the Gospels, and there are only two personages introduced, and whereas the legitimate epic consists primarily of narrative, diversified, by speeches in *Paradise Regained* the narrative and descriptive parts serve rather to relieve the speeches. This love of dramatic dialogue was (as Hallam has pointed out) derived by Milton from Greece, but the result of the argumentative tone is, in this case, to make the work rather tedious, in spite of the very fine passages which occur in it Nevertheless it has found favour with some great poets and critics, Wordsworth thought it "the most perfect in execution of anything written by Milton," Coleridge too said that, in its kind, it was the most perfect poem extant, Johnson in the present passage considers that it would have been universally praised if it had not come from the author of *Paradise Lost*, and Macaulay is "sure that the superiority of the *Paradise Lost* to the *Paradise Regained* is not more decided, than the superiority of *Paradise Regained* to every poem which has since made its appearance."

- 40 In requital, by way of compensating for this.

41. Bigotry of learning, an obstinate and intolerant prejudice in favour of the classics, produced by his extensive study of them.

Page 58 1 A chorus. The Greek drama originated in the choral dances in honour of the god Dionysus, and the chorus continued to be essential to it, sometimes taking part in the action, but more often explaining it to the audience and making reflections upon it.

Both Aristotle and Horace lay down that the Chorus should be treated as one of the characters in the play, and should take part in the action; whilst the choral songs should be connected with the subject of the play (Aristotle, *Poetics*, xviii; Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 193).

In his preface to the *Samson* Milton says that "a Chorus is here introduced after the Greek manner, not ancient only but modern, and still in use among the Italians" It consists in this case of Danites, fellow-tribesmen of Samson.

5. Catastrophe, the technical term for the final event in a drama or romance; it need not be of a disastrous nature, though this is the meaning of the word in its ordinary use.

6 Particular beauties, beauties of detail, as opposed to the general plan and construction of the piece.

Johnson ignores the moral and autobiographical interest of the drama. "As a composition it is languid, nerveless, occasionally halting, never brilliant. But if it be read as a page of contemporary history, it becomes human, pregnant with real woe, the record of an heroic soul, not baffled by temporary adversity, but totally defeated by irreversible fate, and unflinchingly accepting the situation, in the firm conviction of the righteousness of the cause... The triumphant royalist reaction of 1660 is singular in this, that the agonised cry of the beaten party has been preserved in a contemporary monument, the intensest utterance of the most intense of English poets... Add to this the two great personal misfortunes of the poet's life, his first marriage with a woman out of sympathy with him, and his blindness; and the basis of reality becomes so complete that the nominal personages of the drama almost disappear behind the history which we read through them" (Pattison). In Macaulay's judgment Milton here fell into the error which he had avoided in his *Comus*; the latter he had made "essentially lyrical, and dramatic only in semblance;" but in the *Samson* the attempt to reconcile lyric inspiration with dramatic proprieties has failed, and so, in spite of "the severe dignity of the style, the graceful and pathetic solemnity of the opening speech, and the wild and barbaric melody which gives so striking an effect to the choral passages," the work must be pronounced the "least successful effort of the genius of Milton."

10 In the gross, as a whole, on a large scale; *gross* (the French *gros*) being, literally, the main body, the bulk of a thing.

Shades, minute differences or variations, originally of *colour*, but applied to many other things.

11 Concurring, coming together so as to combine; qualifying *passions*.

16 Peculiarity of diction Milton's language is discussed by Addison in the *Spectator*, Nos. 285, 297.—"It is not sufficient that the language of an epic poem be perspicuous, unless it be also sublime. To this end it ought to deviate from the common forms and ordinary phrases of speech." One way of making the language

sublime is by the use of metaphors "Another way is to make use of the idioms of other tongues Milton has infused a great many Latinisms, as well as Graecisms, and sometimes Hebraisms, into the language of his poem" Addison also mentions the lengthening of words (as of *hermit* into *eremite*), the use of archaic words, and the coining of new words, such as *Cerberian* On the whole he approves of the result, "though I must confess that I think his style, though admirable in general, is in some places too much stiffened and obscured by the frequent use of those methods: but this redundancy of foreign language, with which Milton has so very much enriched, and in some places darkened, the language of his poem, was the more proper for his use, because his poem is written in blank verse," without rhyme to help to distinguish it from ordinary prose. Masson too has an essay on Milton's English, in which he states that his total poetical vocabulary consists of about 8,000 words that of these only about one hundred are obsolete or archaic now, and that of all the words in *Paradise Lost* (excluding proper names) about 80 per cent are of Saxon origin In the matter of syntax Milton is much stricter than his predecessors, tending more and more to an adaptation of the Latin syntax "It is not only that Latin phrases and idioms are translated, it is that Milton bends, arranges and builds up his own uninflected or scarce-inflected English on the system of the syntax" of the inflected Latin Compare also Pattison's discussion of Milton's diction, pages 207-212 "It is the elaborated outcome of all the best words of all antecedent poetry .. the natural expression of a soul exquisitely nourished upon the best thoughts and finest words of all ages" The result was that it was fully intelligible only to a comparatively small circle of readers, the rest complaining of the poet for being too learned Milton was aware of this, and deliberately chose to write for the few rather than the many But Milton's diction became the technical dialect of every versifier, until, at the end of the 18th century, Wordsworth came forward to reform the language of English poetry. "He revolted against this dialect as unmeaning, hollow, gaudy, and inane. His reform consisted in reverting to the common language of ordinary life, in order to reconnect poetry with the sympathies of men.. ..But it was against the feeble race of imitators, and not against the master himself, that the protest of the Lake poet was raised."

Cast, style, form, manner see note to page 41, line 20

22 Sunk under him, as though unable to bear the weight of his sublime ideas The reference is to No 297 of the *Spectator* — "Milton's sentiments and ideas were so wonderfully sublime, that it would have been impossible for him to have represented them in their full strength and beauty, without having recourse to these foreign assistances. Our language sunk under him, and was unequal to that greatness of soul which furnished him with such glorious conceptions"

24. Pedantick. See note to page 9, line 15.

25 With a foreign idiom, i e, according to the idioms of Greek and Latin "The connection of the sentences and the position of

the words are exquisitely artificial. but the position is rather according to the logic of passion, or universal logic, than to the logic of grammar. Milton attempted to make the English language obey the logic of passion as perfectly as the Greek and Latin: hence the occasional harshness in the construction" (Coleridge).

26. Discovered, perceived.

Judgment, the critical faculty of the reader

33 The Tuscan poets See note to page 5, line 21.

34 Disposition, arrangement

35 At last, in conclusion

36 Johnson says, etc For Ben Jonson, see note to page 44, line 2. In his *Discoveries made upon Men and Matter*, he says, "Spenser, in affecting the ancients, writ no language, yet I would have him read for his matter"

37. Butler, Samuel Butler (1612-1680), the author of a celebrated satire on the Puritans, called *Hudibras* He spent most of his life as clerk or attendant to various country gentlemen, and was for a year steward of Ludlow Castle, where Milton's *Comus* had been acted

The allusion is to *Hudibras*, I., 1. 91-98 —

"But, when he pleased to shew it, his speech
In loftiness of sound was rich,
A Babylonish dialect,
Which learned pedants much affect;
It was a parti-coloured dress
Of patched and piebald languages
'Twas English cut on Greek and Latin,
Like fustian heretofore on satin."

Babylonish, i e, a confused mixture of various languages; *Babylon* being identified with the *Babel* of *Genesis*, xi, 9, which is said to mean *Confusion* — "And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower which the children of men builded. And the Lord said, Behold the people is one, and they have all one language; and this they begin to do; and now nothing will be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech. So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth; and they left off to build the city Therefore is the name of it called Babel, because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth"

40 Like other lovers. To the lover's eye what is ugly or deformed in the beloved object seems beautiful

Page 59. 1. Want, fail to obtain.

6. *The measure, etc* From the note on "The Verse" prefixed to Book I of *Paradise Lost*—"The measure is English heroic verse without rime, as that of Homer in Greek, and of Virgil in Latin, rime being no necessary adjunct or true ornament of poem or good verse, in longer works especially, but the invention of a barbarous age to set off wretched matter and lame metre."

7. *Many examples* "Not without cause therefore some both Italian and Spanish poets of prime note have rejected rime both in longer and shorter works, as have long since our best English tragedies" (Note on *The Verse*).

8 *Earl of Surrey, Henry Howard* (son of the Duke of Norfolk), whose execution for treason in 1547 was one of the last events of the reign of Henry VIII. His poems were published in 1557, amongst them being a translation of Books 11, and 14 of Virgil's *Æneid* into blank verse—the first appearance of this in English poetry. It has been doubted whether it had been previously used by the Italians, except in tragedies, but certain Spanish poets had employed it

10 *A few short poems* There had, at any rate, been one of considerable length, the *Steel Glass* of George Gascoyne (1576), the earliest instance of English satire

11. *Raleigh* See note to page 22, line 38 Guiana is a district of South America, at the mouth of the river Orinoco, at that time held by the Spaniards. Weary of his imprisonment, Raleigh undertook to open up a gold mine on the Orinoco for the benefit of James I., who granted him liberty to do so (1617), but at the same time placed the whole plan of the expedition in the hands of the Spanish representative. The result was that the expedition was a failure, Raleigh's son was killed, and Raleigh himself was put to death on his return to England

The poem referred to by Johnson was called *De Guiana Carmen Epicum*, an epic poem on Guiana. The author's initials are given as G. C., and hence the work has been attributed to George Chapman, the dramatist and translator of Homer. "Sufficient attention," says Cunningham, "has not been paid to this early and thoughtful specimen of blank verse."

14. *Trissino Giovanni* Trissino published his *Italia Liberata* ("Italy Delivered") in 1548. "No one has ever pretended to rescue from the charge of dulness and insipidity the epic poem of the father of blank verse, Trissino, on the liberation of Italy from the Goths by Belisarius. It is, of all long poems that are remembered at all, the most unfortunate in its reputation" (Hallam)

15. *Finding blank verse easier* This is unhesitatingly asserted by Dryden as the reason of Milton's preference—"Neither will I justify Milton for his blank verse, though I may excuse him by the example of the Italians who have used it, for whatever causes he alleges for the abolishing of rhyme, his own particular reason is plainly this, that rhyme was not his talent; he had neither the

ease of doing it nor the graces of it, which is manifest in the verses written in his youth, where the rhyme is always constrained and forced, and comes hardly from him" (*Essay on Satire*).

17. He says. See the passage quoted in the note to page 59, line 6.

18 As a mental operation, i. e., before it has been expressed in spoken or written words.

Plato and Aristotle generally assume that only what is metrical can be called poetry, though Aristotle does not mention metre as an essential of poetry in his vague definition of the latter in the *Poetics* nor is it included in Mill's definition of poetry as "thought coloured by feeling and overheard," nor in Shelley's, "poetry is the record of the best and happiest moments of the happiest and best minds," nor in Coleridge's, "the best words in the best order." Of late years we have seen the name of poems claimed by an American writer, Walt Whitman, for compositions which are, for the most part, entirely devoid of metre; e.g.—

"Within me latitude widens, longitude lengthens,
Asia, Africa, Europe, are to the east—America is provided
for in the west,
Banding the bulge of the earth winds the hot equator,
Curiously north and south turn the axis-ends," *etc.*

20 In languages, etc., such as Latin and Greek, the versification of which depends solely on the metrical *quantity* of the syllables. It is only in certain kinds of mediæval Latin poetry that any kind of rhyme appears.

29 Variety of pauses The best writers of blank verse, from Virgil downwards, have striven to avoid having a pause in the sense at the end of each line. To avoid such monotony, the pauses are distributed all over the lines, so as to form a series of *periods*, requiring to be read independently of the beginning and ending of the actual lines. In his prefatory Note to *Paradise Lost*, Milton says that "true musical delight consists only in apt numbers, fit quantity of syllables, and the sense variously drawn out from one verse into another."

31. A declaimer, a rhetorician delivering a declamation. This criticism excited the wrath of the poet Cowper, who wrote to a friend—"Was there ever anything so delightful as the music of the *Paradise Lost*? It is like that of a fine organ; has the fullest and the deepest tones of majesty, with all the softness and elegance of the Dorian flute. Variety without end, and never equalled, unless perhaps by Virgil. Yet the Doctor has little or nothing to say upon this copious theme, but talks something about the unfitness of the English language for blank verse, and how apt it is, in the mouth of some readers, to degenerate into declamation. Oh! I could thresh his old jacket till I made his pension jingle in his pocket." The "Doctor" is, of course, Johnson.

32. Happy, successful.

34 An ingenious critick, according to Boswell, "Mr Lock, of Norburv Park, in Surrey, whose knowledge and taste in the fine arts is universally celebrated, and with whose elegance of manners the writer of the present work has felt himself much impressed."

Only to the eye, only because we see that it is not printed continuously as prose is, but is broken up into lines like poetry A note in Boswell's *Johnson* describes "one of the most natural instances of the effect of blank verse," which occurred to an Earl of Hopeton.

"His Lordship observed one of his shepherds poring in the fields upon Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and having asked him what book it was, the man answered, Anit please your Lordship, this is a very odd sort of an author he would fain rhyme, but cannot get at it "

38. The lapidary style, that of the inscriptions on monuments; see page, 7, line 20

39 Numbers, verses, poetry

40 Whom Milton alleges, etc., in the "Note on the Verse," where, however, he does not name them For the use of *alleges* in the sense of *quotes*, see note to page 10, line 8

42. Its refers to the absence of rhyme

Page 60 1 I cannot prevail, etc Lord Byron once wrote—"I am aware that Johnson has said after some hesitation that he could not prevail on himself to wish that Milton had been a rhymer The opinions of that truly great man will ever be received by me with deference, but with all humility I am not persuaded that the *Paradise Lost* would not have been more nobly conveyed to posterity, not perhaps in heroic couplets, although even they could sustain the subject if well balanced, but in the stanza of Spenser or of Tasso, or in the *terza rima* of Dante, which the powers of Milton could easily have grafted on our language "

9 That vigour, etc., 1 e, to the vigorous and ample mind of Homer, who first "contrived the structure of an epic poem "

11 Texture, literally, the weaving, 2 e, the way in which the different parts are connected into a whole.

Fable, story, plot of the poem, as on page 47.

12 Stratagems, devices, artifices

14 The least indebted In Hallam's judgment there was not much in common between Homer and Milton, in respect of either their genius or its products Moreover, "Milton has taken less in direct imitation from Homer than from several other poets His favourites had rather been Sophocles and Euripides, to them he owes the structure of his blank verse, his swell and dignity of style, his grave enunciation of moral and abstract sentiment, his tone of description,

neither condensed like that of Dante, nor spread out with the diffuseness of the other Italians and of Homer himself. Next to these Greek tragedians, Virgil seems to have been his model, with the minor Latin poets, except Ovid, he does not, I think, show any great familiarity."

Something has already been said on the question of Milton's indebtedness to Andreini, Vondel, and other moderns (see notes to page 26), but it must here be added that in 1750 a Scotchman, named Lauder, published a book to prove that Milton was one of the greatest plagiarists from *modern* writers that ever lived. For this work he procured a Preface and Postscript from Johnson, but a little later it was shown that Lauder, in his pretended quotations of the authors from whom Milton was said to have plagiarised, had tampered with the texts outrageously, in some cases interpolating into them lines from a Latin translation of the *Paradise Lost* itself, and Johnson professed extreme indignation with Lauder in consequence, dictating to him a letter which he compelled him to publish, and which contained a most complete and abject confession of the fraud.

20. Exchange of praise. He does not praise other authors in order that they may praise him in return; a process to which the Americans have given the name of "logrolling"

21. Under discountenance, when he was out of favour with the Government; compare page 30, line 23.

JOHNSON'S LIFE OF SWIFT

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WITH
INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY
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NOTE

THE following are the principal books and editions dealing with Johnson and Swift, which have been consulted in the compilation of the Introduction and Notes.—Macaulay's *Life of Johnson* in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and Essays on Croker's *Boswell*, Moore's *Byron*, Temple, and Addison. Leslie Stephen's *Johnson* (English Men of Letters, 1878) : Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, edited by G. B. Hill. Foster's *Life of Swift* (1875). Craik's *Life of Swift* (1882) Leslie Stephen's *Swift* (English Men of Letters, 1882) Sir Walter Scott's edition of *Swift's Works* (1883). Thackeray's *English Humourists* and the editions of Johnson's *Life of Swift* by Cunningham (1854), Matthew Arnold (1891), and Ryland (1894) I have also to thank Principal Selby, of the Deccan College, Poona, for the use of some manuscript notes which he kindly placed at my disposal.

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INTRODUCTION.

SAMUEL JOHNSON was born at Lichfield, September 18, 1709. His father, Michael Johnson, an ardent High Churchman and Tory, was a bookseller of sufficient note to be a magistrate of the town, and in 1709 sheriff of the county. To his son he seems to have transmitted a constitutional taint, in the form of scrofula, a disease for which the royal touch was believed to be a more efficacious cure than any medicine. Hence one of Samuel's earliest recollections was that of a stately lady wearing diamonds and a long black hood, who was none other than Queen Anne, and by whom he was "touched for the king's evil." But it was in vain. His features were scarred and distorted by the disease, his sight was impaired, and throughout his life he was subject to odd convulsions and gestures, which may have had their origin in the same cause. "In the child," says Macaulay, "the physical, intellectual, and moral peculiarities which afterwards distinguished the man were plainly discernible, great muscular strength accompanied by much awkwardness and many infirmities, great quickness of parts, with a morbid propensity to sloth and procrastination; a kind and generous heart, with a gloomy and irritable temper."

In spite of his natural indolence, Samuel acquired a good deal of knowledge (especially of Latin authors) at the Lichfield Grammar School and elsewhere, before the age of sixteen, when he left school, probably in order to learn his

father's business The next two years, accordingly, he spent at home, devouring the books in his father's shop. As Mr. Stephen expresses it, "he gorged books he tore the hearts out of them, but did not study systematically." The result was that he was able to say at the age of fifty-three, that he knew almost as much at eighteen as at any subsequent period of his life

In the meantime his father's business was declining, and the family were sinking into poverty. Nevertheless, in 1728 Samuel was able to go into residence at Pembroke College, Oxford, though the precise means by which he supported himself there are not known with any certainty His ungainly and poverty-stricken appearance exposed him to many mortifications, which led him to show as little regard for the academical authorities as Milton, whom he censures in this respect He did not, however, proceed to the same lengths as Milton in attacking the *system* of the university, the traditional Toryism of which was in harmony with Johnson's original prejudices But whatever the resources were on which he had relied, they seem to have failed him in the course of 1731, and he had to leave Oxford without any degree At the end of the year, his father died, most of the little property left went to the widow, and Samuel's patrimony amounted to no more than twenty pounds. During the next thirty years, his life was one long struggle with poverty.

During the first portion of this period he tried to earn his living by what has been called "the most depressing and least hopeful of employments," schoolmastering. In 1735, having no money and no prospects, he proceeded to fall in love, and married a widow named Elizabeth Porter, forty-six years of age "To ordinary spectators the lady appeared to be a short, fat, coarse woman, painted half an inch thick, and dressed in gaudy colours But to Johnson, whose passions were strong, whose eyesight was weak, and who had seldom or never been in the same room with a woman of real fashion, his Titty, as he called her, was the most beautiful, graceful, and accomplished of her

sex" (Macaulay). The marriage, at any rate, did not turn out an unhappy one.

In the following year (1736) Johnson started an "academy," and advertised for pupils; but few came. Neither his personal appearance and character nor his own desultory education were such as to qualify him for success in the profession he had adopted; and in 1738 he decided to seek his fortune in London, whither he was accompanied by one of his few pupils, David Garrick, afterwards the celebrated actor.

In the metropolis fresh mortifications and hardships awaited him, and it was in these years of misery that he acquired the uncouth manners which marked his subsequent career. for the rest of his life he was slovenly in dress, and ravenous in his manner of eating, gorging his food with such violence that the veins on his forehead swelled and the perspiration broke out. Of the sordid details of his life at this time not much is known but before long he obtained regular employment from the bookseller who owned the *Gentleman's Magazine*, to which his most noteworthy contributions were the Parliamentary speeches. The debates at that time were not allowed to be reported; but Johnson was supplied with a few notes of the proceedings, which he had to work up into regular speeches, for both the Ministry and the Opposition. At this time too he gained some reputation by the poem called *London* (an imitation of the third satire of Juvenal), which was published anonymously in May, 1738, and went into a second edition at the end of a week. Pope, who had recently published his imitations of Horace, was sufficiently struck by the performance to seek out the author's name, and to try to do something for him. but his efforts came to nothing. For this poem Johnson received ten guineas.

During the years which followed, his literary reputation increased, until in 1747 several leading booksellers combined to employ him in the preparation of an English Dictionary. This book, which earned him the title of "the great lexicographer," occupied him until 1755, and for it

Johnson received between fifteen and sixteen hundred guineas, out of which he had to pay various assistants and copyists. The work was, as he himself expressed it, "harmless drudgery," which the rise of scientific etymology has rendered obsolete, but it helped him into his subsequent position of monarch of the English literary world.

During the progress of the Dictionary he sought relaxation in writing the *Vanity of Human Wishes* (an imitation of the tenth satire of Juvenal), which was published in 1749, and for which he received fifteen guineas. A few days later, his tragedy *Irene* was produced by his friend Garrick at Drurylane Theatre, one of "the heaviest and most unreadable of dramatic performances" (Stephen), it nevertheless ran for thirteen nights and brought its author nearly three hundred pounds.

In 1750 Johnson essayed to repeat the success of the *Tatler* and *Spectator* of Steele and Addison, and for two years he brought out twice weekly the *Rambler*, containing short essays on social, literary, and moral topics. "Its ponderous pages," says Stephen, "mark the culminating period of Johnson's worst qualities of style. The pompous and involved language seems indeed to be a fit clothing for the melancholy reflections which are its chief staple." The last *Rambler* appeared in March, 1752, and a few days later Mrs. Johnson died. Johnson's grief was bitter, but he turned for relief to hard work, and in three more years the Dictionary appeared. "It was hailed with enthusiasm such as no similar work has ever excited. The definitions show so much acuteness of thought and command of language, and the passages quoted from poets, divines, and philosophers, are so skilfully selected, that a leisure hour may always be very agreeably spent in turning over the pages" (Macaulay).

The next few years were spent in petty literary work amid a state of indebtedness, but in the spring of 1758 Johnson started a second series of essays called the *Idler*, which appeared weekly for two years. Whilst he was in the midst of this work, his mother died at Lichfield, at the age of 90 (January, 1759), and to defray the funeral expenses Johnson

wrote, in the evenings of a single week, his story of *Rasselas*, the scene of which is laid in Abyssinia. For this he received a hundred pounds, and twenty-five more for a second edition. But a great change in his way of life was at hand. In 1762, the ministry of the new king, George III., offered him a pension of three hundred pounds a year, which he accepted, in spite of his definition of a pension in the Dictionary as "pay given to a State hireling for treason to his country." Henceforth he was free from the daily anxiety and drudgery which he had experienced for more than thirty years

In 1765, after a delay of nine years due to his incurable indolence, he produced a new edition of Shakespeare, for which he had received large subscriptions in advance. Its publication, in Macaulay's words, "saved Johnson's character for honesty, but added nothing to the fame of his abilities and learning. It would be difficult to name a more slovenly, a more worthless edition of any great classic."

The remaining twenty years of his life are the period best known to us: for though he wrote but little, he talked a great deal, and the records of these conversations have been preserved in the celebrated work of James Boswell, a young Scotch lawyer, who came to know Johnson in 1763, and ever afterwards worshipped him. To Boswell too is owing a great part of the fame of that literary club of which Johnson was the centre, and which numbered amongst its members Sir Joshua Reynolds, Burke, Goldsmith, Garrick, Sheridan, Gibbon, and many others of the most eminent scholars and wits of the day.

In 1765, also, Johnson became acquainted with a wealthy brewer, named Thrale, and his wife, and for sixteen years spent about half of his time under their roof. With them he travelled to Bath and to Brighton, to Wales and to Paris. At the same time he had a house of his own near Fleet-street in London, where he maintained a number of poor dependants, presided over by a blind lady, Miss Williams. In 1773 he was persuaded to accompany Boswell in a tour to the north of Scotland and the Hebrides, then inhabited

by a rude and simple race of islanders A narrative of this journey was published by him in 1775, in which year also the University of Oxford made him a D C L, he had been an LL D of Dublin University for the last ten years. Two years later he undertook what was destined to prove the most important of all his works, the *Lives of the Poets* Originally meant only to be short biographical notices for a new edition of the English poets, they developed into ten volumes, published 1779-1781 In the latter year Johnson was much affected and shaken by the death of his friend, Mr Thrale His own infirmities were growing upon him; but for a time he was carefully and affectionately nursed by Mrs Thrale, until her growing attachment to an Italian musician, named Piozzi, caused an estrangement between them In June, 1783, Johnson had a paralytic stroke, from this he recovered, but he suffered much from asthma, dropsy, and other complications, and in June, 1784, the marriage of Mrs Thrale to Piozzi caused him to finally break off their long-standing friendship As the winter approached, his infirmities increased, together with his gloom and the terror of death by which he had always been possessed. Towards the end, however, he became calmer and more patient, and died peacefully, December 13th, 1784 A week later he was buried in Westminster Abbey

"Since his death," writes Macaulay in conclusion, "the popularity of his works—the *Lives of the Poets* and, perhaps, the *Vanity of Human Wishes* excepted—has greatly diminished. His *Dictionary* has been altered by editors till it can scarcely be called his An allusion to his *Rambler* or his *Idler* is not readily apprehended in literary circles The fame even of *Rasselas* has grown somewhat dim But though the celebrity of the writings may have declined, the celebrity of the writer, strange to say, is as great as ever Boswell's book has done for him more than the best of his own books could do The memory of other authors is kept alive by their works But the memory of Johnson keeps many of his works alive The old philosopher is still among us in the brown coat with the metal buttons, and the shirt which

ought to be at wash, blinking, puffing, rolling his head, drumming with his fingers, tearing his meat like a tiger, and swallowing his tea in oceans. No human being who has been so long in the grave is so well known to us." Both in religion and in politics his convictions were of the strongest, often amounting to narrow prejudices. but he was always honest and independent, and, however rough externally, one of the most tender-hearted of men.

II.

The literary period of which Johnson is a principal representative was pre-eminently an age of prose. The century which followed the Restoration saw the creation of a modern English prose style, "clear, plain and short," in place of the lengthy and complicated periods of Milton and the older writers. By Johnson's time the victory of the new style was already complete, and not in its own sphere only it had invaded that of poetry, from which the same regularity, precision, and technical perfection were demanded. These qualities constitute what is generally understood by the term "correctness," so often applied to the writers of the 18th century. Macaulay, indeed, in the *Essay on Moore's Life of Byron*, has pointed out the ambiguity of the term "correctness." In one sense, he says, Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, and Milton may be called the most correct of poets, because most careful to conform to rules which have their foundation in truth and in the principles of human nature. But this is not the sense in which Pope and his imitators are called the most correct of English poets; their correctness has reference to certain artificial rules and ceremonious observances, which in the case of Pope were redeemed by his brilliant wit and terseness of expression, but which sank in his successors into monotonous and mechanical feebleness, leading to the revolution in poetry inaugurated by Cowper and Wordsworth.

Now Johnson took it for granted that the kind of poetry which flourished in his own time, and which he had himself written with some success, was the best kind. The poets whose lives he wrote include two of a high order, Milton and Gray, but it is precisely these two whom he shows himself least able to appreciate. It is for Dryden and Pope that he reserves his highest praise. Common sense is the standard of judgment which he adopts, and the appeal to common sense was characteristic of his age. It was also an age of philosophic activity, of speculation on social and moral topics as they presented themselves to the man of ordinary common sense. The solutions, therefore, which the wits of the age produced for these problems, were not profound: it was sufficient that they should be brilliant or paradoxical. Johnson, as is well known, cared for no society or mode of life, except that of London, of country life and nature he knew nothing, taking it for granted, as Macaulay says, "that every body who lived in the country was either stupid or miserable." The descriptions of nature in his favourite poets are purely literary, and epigrammatic reflections on life, expressed in the heroic couplet as refined and polished by Pope, were to him the best type of poetry.

Yet we need not on that account hastily censure Johnson and his age for their views on the subject. The function of the 18th century was, as we have said, to create an English prose style, and into that service poetry also was pressed. "Such is the common course and law of progress; one thing is done at a time, and other things are sacrificed to it. Let us always bear in mind therefore that the century so well represented by Dryden, Addison, Pope, and Swift, is a century of prose. Johnson was himself a labourer in this great and needful work, and was ruled by its influences. His blame of genuine poets like Milton and Gray, his over-praise of artificial poets like Pope, are to be taken as the utterances of a man who worked for an age of prose. Of poetry he speaks as a man whose sense for that with which he is dealing is in some degree imperfect. Yet even on poetry Johnson's utterances are valuable, because they

are the utterances of a great and original man" (Matthew Arnold) He was in fact saved by his originality and his common sense from servile and pedantic submission to the rules of correct writing, laid down by the French and other critics, but when sympathy and imagination are required, he fails. How serious a deficiency this must necessarily imply in a critic of poetry, will be evident to any one who reflects that the world of imagination is precisely that in which the true poet moves.

III.

Johnson, then, in his criticisms of poetry, employs the standards of an essentially prosaic age is his own prose style also representative of his age? Remembering the ridicule that has been aimed at "Johnsonese," we might say that it was not; but this would scarcely be correct. His *words* indeed are often long and pompous; but the *structure* of his sentences belongs essentially to that modern style, which we have already said was the creation of the century following the Restoration. If only he had written as he talked, his books would not have been consigned to that upper shelf on which most of them now repose. "It is clear," says Macaulay, "that Johnson himself did not think in the dialect in which he wrote. The expressions which came first to his tongue were simple, energetic, and picturesque. When he wrote for publication, he did his sentences out of English into Johnsonese." Sometimes we can see this process of translation actually taking place, as when he remarked, "the *Rehearsal* has not wit enough to keep it sweet," adding after a pause, "it has not vitality enough to preserve it from putrefaction." In much the same way he wrote of Milton that "his element is the great," adding immediately, "his natural port is gigantic loftiness."

Macaulay continues, "it is well known that he made less use than any other eminent writer of those strong plain

words, Anglo-Saxon or Norman-French, of which the roots lie in the inmost depths of our language, and that he felt a vicious partiality for terms which, long after our own speech had been fixed, were borrowed from the Greek and Latin " Such, no doubt, is the impression which some of Johnson's writings leave, but Macaulay's remarks are not altogether borne out by an actual analysis (quoted by Mr. Ryland), which gives 30 per cent. of words of classical origin in 200 lines of the *Rambler*, and 28 per cent. in the *Lives of the Poets*, as against 28 per cent. in Macaulay's own essays The fact is that Johnson is at his worst in his earlier compositions. For several years before producing the *Lives* he wrote scarcely anything, and when he took up the pen again a good deal of his mannerism had evaporated, with the result that the style of the *Lives* is a nearer approach to that of his conversation than to that of the *Rambler* and *Rasselas*

Of the other defects of his style, the most prominent are his practice of "padding out" a sentence with unnecessary epithets, his harsh inversions, his careless use of the third personal pronouns, in such a way as to render his meaning wholly ambiguous, his love of abstract turns of expression instead of concrete, and his constant employment of antithetical clauses, even where there is no real opposition in the ideas Many of these epigrammatical antitheses are very striking, but their frequency tends to destroy their effect upon the reader

IV.

The *Lives of the Poets* had their origin in the rivalry of the English and Scotch booksellers One of the latter had published at Edinburgh an edition of the British poets from Chaucer (died 1400) to Churchill (died 1764) whereupon the London booksellers, jealous of their prerogatives, combined to produce a rival edition. To add to its attractions, Dr Johnson was invited to prefix to each poet's works a short

account of his life This was in 1777 when Johnson told Boswell that he had undertaken to write "little Lives and little Prefaces to a little edition of the English Poets." He did not choose the poets himself, though he added Blackmore and three others to the list supplied by the booksellers: and a large number of quite insignificant writers are included. Boswell, in fact, enquired of him if he would furnish a Preface and Life to "any dunce's works," if the booksellers asked him. "Yes, Sir," was Johnson's reply, "and say he was a dunce." However, the series includes six writers of prime importance, namely, Milton, Dryden, Swift, Addison, Pope and Gray.

Though the original intention had been to begin with Chaucer, the booksellers finally fixed upon Cowley as their starting point; and therefore Johnson was not required to treat of Chaucer, Spenser, or Shakespeare. This was no great loss, however; for the biographies of the older writers would have been necessarily scanty, and Johnson's criticism of them would have been inadequate, and by no means appreciative. As Southey said, the poets before the Restoration were to Johnson what the world before the Flood was to historians. There is, however, one regrettable omission, Goldsmith, about whom Johnson could have said much of interest, but a bookseller who possessed the copyright of some of his poems would not allow them to be included.

In an Advertisement prefixed to the original work Johnson says:—"The Booksellers having determined to publish a body of English Poetry, I was persuaded to promise them a Preface to the Works of each Author; an undertaking, as it was then presented to my mind, not very extensive or difficult. My purpose was only to have allotted to every Poet an Advertisement, like those which we find in the French Miscellanies, containing a few dates and a general character, but I have been led beyond my intention, I hope by the honest desire of giving useful pleasure. As this undertaking was occasional and unforeseen, I must be supposed to have engaged in it with less provision of materials than might have been accumulated by longer

premeditation " Johnson, however, had been a man of letters and a critic for many years, and "the task," as Macaulay remarks, "was one for which he was pre-eminently qualified His knowledge of the literary history of England since the Restoration was unrivalled. That knowledge he had derived partly from books, and partly from sources which had long been closed; from old Grub Street traditions, from the talk of forgotten poetasters, and pamphleteers who had long been lying in parish vaults, from the recollections of such men as Cibber, who had mutilated the plays of two generations of dramatists, Orrery, who had been admitted to the society of Swift; and Savage, who had rendered services of no very honourable kind to Pope The biographer, therefore, sat down to his task with a mind full of matter " Moreover, at first, at any rate, he entered with considerable vigour into the task of ascertaining and verifying details Here many of his friends assisted him, and he mentions as worthy of special acknowledgment the loan (by the Duke of Newcastle) of the manuscript of Spence's *Anecdotes*

The progress of the work can be traced in Johnson's letters, and in Boswell The first Life written was that of Cowley, completed in December, 1777 Three more were completed before Easter, 1778, when he says, "I have written a little of the Lives of the Poets, I think with all my usual vigour " Dryden was finished in August, 1778, Milton about February, 1779. Sixteen more short Lives completed the first part, which was published together with the poems in March, 1779, and also separately in four small volumes "Last week," he says, "I published the Lives of the Poets, written, I hope, in such a manner as may tend to the promotion of piety "

On April 6, 1780, he wrote to Mrs Thrale that Addison and Prior were finished, by May 9th five or six more had been added. But on August 21st he informed Boswell that he had sat at home all the summer, "thinking to write the Lives, and a great part of the time only thinking " This indolence caused him to be pressed for time, and he willingly adopted a Life of Young by Croft, and tried, though

unsuccessfully, to get some other assistance of the same kind. However, in March, 1781, he finished the work, of which he says frankly that he wrote it in his "usual way—dilatorily and hastily, unwilling to work and working with vigour and haste" The second part, when published separately, filled six small volumes In this manner the intended short prefaces or advertisements expanded into Johnson's last and greatest work; and in consequence the booksellers gave him four hundred guineas instead of the two hundred originally agreed on "The fact is," said Johnson, "not that they have paid me too little, but that I have written too much." On the other hand, Malone remarks that Johnson's moderation in demanding so small a sum was extraordinary, as the booksellers would doubtless have readily given him a thousand, or even fifteen hundred, guineas

Boswell complains that Johnson was not attentive to minute accuracy, and even neglected to correct mistakes pointed out to him in the first edition. "He knew his strength," says Cunningham, "and that the value of his work would not depend on the minute succession of facts, but on the characters, drawn as they would be from books and men, and marked with a happiness of illustration almost peculiar to himself" That some of his characters would be attacked was fully expected by the author, who remarked to Boswell that he would rather be attacked than unnoticed Three Lives in particular caused an outcry, those of Milton, Gray, and Lord Lyttelton but when Boswell referred to the matter, Johnson only replied, "Sir, I considered myself as entrusted with a certain portion of truth. I have given my opinion sincerely Let them show where they think me wrong." The worst, undoubtedly, is the Life of Gray the best, probably, are those of Dryden, Pope, and Cowley. The last named gave Johnson most trouble, and was in his opinion the best of all.

V

Johnson's Life of Swift is both prejudiced and meagre, and he was evidently glad to avail himself of the excuse that a good Life had already been published by Hawkesworth. The prejudice was visible even to Boswell, who calls it "unaccountable." "I once," says he, "took the liberty to ask Dr. Johnson if Swift had personally offended him, and he told me he had not." This may be taken to dispose of the suggestion put forward by Thomas Sheridan, that Johnson had taken offence over the attempt to get him an Irish degree, in 1738. In that year he was offered a certain scholastic appointment, on condition that he obtained an M A degree. Accordingly, some of his friends appealed to Swift to use his influence with the University of Dublin to obtain such a degree for Johnson, whose poem of *London* had recently attracted notice. This application came to nothing. Whether the University had the power to make such a grant is doubtful; whether Swift would have cared to ask a favour from them, or whether they would have cared to grant him one, is less so. In any case, it would have been very unreasonable to bear a grudge against a man for neglecting a request, conveyed to him indirectly, from a person of whom he knew nothing, when he was himself sinking into the terrible condition which closed Swift's life. Boswell, therefore, very justly remarks that there is no sufficient evidence for this explanation of Johnson's undoubted dislike of Swift.

Mr. Craik finds a far more likely cause in the very similarity of temperament in the two men. "Johnson knew, and shrank from, the bitterness that was bred in Swift, as it was in himself, of hardship, of early poverty, of disappointed hopes, and of the ceaseless burden of ill-health. He had struggled too long against the fatal influences, not to know and dread their strength, and just in proportion as the effort to school himself was painful, so his judgment on another suffering from the same enemy was severe." But whatever the cause, there can be no doubt as to the effect, which is picturesquely described by

Thackeray in a well-known passage. "His life has been told by stout old Johnson, who, forced to admit him into the company of poets, receives the famous Irishman, and takes off his hat to him with a bow of surly recognition, scans him from head to foot, and passes over to the other side of the street." This grudging recognition seems to have led Johnson to undervalue Swift's powers. He professed to find the *Tale of a Tub* so much superior to anything else that Swift wrote, as to doubt whether it could have come from his pen. He decries Swift's political writings, which we know produced an extraordinary effect upon his contemporaries; and in a conversation preserved by Boswell he said that Swift was "clear, but shallow." "In coarse humour," he continued, "he is inferior to Arbuthnot, in delicate humour he is inferior to Addison; so he is inferior to his contemporaries, without putting him against the whole world. I doubt if the *Tale of a Tub* was his, it has so much more thinking, more knowledge, more power, more colour than any of the works which are indisputably his."

Another point in which Johnson seems distinctly unfair to Swift is with reference to his so-called "avarice." The language about the "catchpoll" (see page 20) has been protested against by Scott and all the more recent biographers of Swift, Craik, for instance, remarking that, but for prejudice, Johnson could scarcely have blinded himself to the need of encouraging in Ireland the self-reliance which Swift saw to be the nation's chief want. Johnson's own attempt at systematic charity is well-known: his houseful of strange dependants has already been referred to; and what was their chronic condition? "All these poor creatures," writes Macaulay, "were at constant war with each other, and with Johnson's negro servants. Sometimes, indeed, they transferred their hostilities from the servant to the master, complained that a better table was not kept for them, and railed or maundered till their benefactor was glad to make his escape." It may be permitted one to think that of the two methods of beneficence, Swift's was the more judicious

- 1689 Swift goes to reside with Sir W. Temple at Moor Park.
Odes to Archbishop Sancroft, and to Temple.
[Shadwell made poet-laureate Civil War in Ireland]
1690. Swift leaves Moor Park for Ireland (May)
[Battle of the Boyne, July 1]
- 1691 Swift returns to Moor Park (possibly earlier).
Ode to the Athenian Society
[End of the war in Ireland]
- 1692 Swift takes the B A and M. A. degrees at Oxford
[Death of Shadwell, and of Lee]
1693. Dispute over the Triennial Bill. Swift sent by Temple to
the King
[Congreve's first play, the *Old Bachelor*]
- 1694 Swift leaves Moor Park (May) is ordained in Ireland
(Oct)
[Wotton's *Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning*
[Dryden's last play, *Love Triumphant* Death of Queen
Mary William III assents to the Triennial Act]
- 1695 Lord Capel, Lord-Deputy in Ireland Swift presented to
the prebend of Kilroot, where he makes love to Miss
Waring (Varina)
- 1696 Swift returns to Moor Park (May)
1697. He resigns the living of Kilroot
[Dryden's *Virgil*]
- 1699 Death of Sir W Temple ('Jan.) Swift goes to Ireland as
chaplain to Lord Berkeley
- 1700 Swift receives the livings of Laracor, Rathbeggan, and
Agher (February) and the prebend of Dunlaven
(autumn)
[Death of Dryden, May 1]
- 1701 Swift takes a Doctor's degree at Dublin He visits England
[April—Sept]
Stella and Mrs Dingley settle in Ireland
*Dissensions between Nobles and Commons in Athens and
Rome*
[Death of James II ? Louis XIV acknowledges the Pre-
tender]
- 1702 [Death of William III, March 8. Accession of Anne A
Tory ministry in power]
Swift in England, April—Oct
1703. Swift goes to England (Nov)

1704. Swift returns to Ireland Tisdall offers to marry Stella.
The Tale of a Tub and *The Battle of the Books* published.
 Anne restores the First-fruits to the English Church
 (Queen Anne's Bounty)
 [Robert Harley, Secretary of State Marlborough's victory
 at Blenheim]
1705. Swift in England, April—autumn
- 1706 [Marlborough's victory at Ramillies]
1707. Birth of the fifth Lord Orrery Swift goes to England
 (Nov.) with a commission to secure the remission of the
 Irish First-fruits, &c.
 [Union of England and Scotland]
1708. *Argument against Abolishing Christianity Letter on the
 Sacramental Test Sentiments of a Church-of-England
 Man. The Bicherstaff* pamphlets
 [Resignation of Harley The Whigs in power Marl-
 borough's victory at Oudenarde]
1709. *Project for the Advancement of Religion.*
 Steele's *Tatler* begins
 Swift returns to Ireland (June), disgusted with the double
 dealing of Lord Halifax and the Whigs.
 [Pope's *Pastorals* Birth of Johnson, Sept. 18.]
 [Sacheverell's Tory Sermons Marlborough wins at Mal-
 plaquet, and tries to become Captain-General for life.
 Barrier Treaty between Great Britain and Holland.]
1710. [Trial of Sacheverell, Feb —March.]
 Death of Swift's mother, April 24.
 Fall of the Whigs. Harley forms a Tory ministry (August)
 Swift in England (September). Beginning of the *Journal
 to Stella* He secures the remission of the First-fruits.
 Swift edits the *Examiner* from Nov. 1710—June, 1711.
1711. The Brothers' Club, and the Scriblerus Club founded
 Harley made Earl of Oxford *The Conduct of the Allies*
 (Nov)
 [Pope's *Essay on Criticism*.]
- 1712 *Proposal for correcting the English Tongue*
Letter to the October Club
Remarks on the Barrier Treaty
 Swift begins the *History of the Four Last Years of the Queen*
 [Pope's *Rape of the Lock*]
- 1713 [Peace of Utrecht Addison's *Cato* acted]
 Swift installed as Dean of St Patrick's (June). End of the
Journal to Stella

- Quarrels between Oxford and Bolingbroke
 Swift returns to England He learns of Vanessa's love
 for him
- Quarrel between Swift and Steele
- 1714 Steele's *Crisis* published (Jan)
The Public Spirit of the Whigs (March)
Remarks on Burnet's Introduction to vol iii of his History
 Oxford supplanted by Bolingbroke (July) Death of Queen
 Anne, August 1 Accession of George I Overthrow
 of the Tories Flight of Bolingbroke
- Swift returns to Ireland
- 1715 Sir R. Walpole in power
 [Death of Louis XIV, and of Bishop Burnet. Pope's *Iliad*,
 vol 1, published Jacobite Rebellion in Scotland.]
1716. Alleged marriage of Swift and Stella (?).
1717. [Walpole out of office]
- 1719 Death of Addison
- 1720 *Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufactures*
 [Bursting of the South Sea Bubble. Pope's *Iliad* com-
 pleted]
1721. [Walpole returns to power]
- 1723 Death of Vanessa *Cadenus and Vanessa* published
 Agitation in Ireland over Wood's Halfpence
1724. Death of Harley, Lord Oxford The *Diapier's Letters*
 Lord Carteret, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland
- 1725 Boulter made Archbishop of Armagh
 [Pope's *Odyssey*]
1726. Swift in England, March—August. Serious illness of Stella.
Gulliver's Travels (November)
 [Death of Wotton]
- 1727 Swift's last visit to England (April—September)
 [Death of George I, June 9 Accession of George II Gay's
Fables]
- 1728 Death of Stella, Jan 28
 [Pope's *Dunciad* Gay's *Beggars' Opera*]
1729. Death of Steele and of Archbishop King
 Swift's *Modest Proposal* for using poor children in Ireland
 as food (Scott, vii., 257)
- 1730 Lord Carteret leaves Ireland
- 1731 *On the Death of Dr Swift*
 Affair of Mrs. Barber's Letters, alleged to be from Swift to
 the Queen

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- 1732 [Pope's *Essay on Man*]
Death of Gay, Dec 4.
- 1733 *On the Words Brother Protestant, &c.*
Scene between Swift and Bettesworth
1735. Death of Arbuthnot
1736. Dispute between Swift and Archbishop Boulter over the
gold coinage
The Legion Club
Swift taken very ill.
1737. Swift prevented by his friends from publishing his *History
of the Four Last Years*
[Death of Queen Caroline Johnson comes to London.]
1738. *Polite Conversation, &c*, published
Johnson's *London*. He makes an abortive effort to
procure an M. A degree at Dublin, through Swift.
1742. Swift put under legal guardians He suffers from an attack
of acute mania
[Walpole retires as Earl of Orford Death of Archbishop
Boulter, and of Richard Bentley]
1743. Death of Mrs Dingley
- 1744 Death of Pope, May 30
1745. [Death of Walpole (Lord Orford) Jacobite Rebellion in
Scotland]
Death of Swift, Oct. 19
- 1751 Orrery's *Remarks* on Swift
1754. Delany's *Observations* on Orrery's *Remarks*
1755. Hawkesworth's edition of Swift's Works.
1757. St. Patrick's Hospital opened
1758. Swift's *History of the Four Last Years* published by Lucas.
1766. Hawkesworth's edition of Swift's Letters, and of the
Journal to Stella.

JOHNSON'S LIFE OF SWIFT.

AN account of Dr Swift has been already collected, with great diligence and acuteness, by Dr Hawkesworth, according to a scheme which I laid before him in the intimacy of our friendship I cannot therefore be expected to say much of a life, concerning which I had long since communicated my thoughts to a man capable of dignifying his narration with so much elegance of language and force of sentiment

Jonathan Swift was, according to an account said to be written by himself, the son of Jonathan Swift, an attorney, and was born at Dublin on St Andrew's day, 1667 according to his own report, as delivered by Pope to Spence, he was born at Leicester, the son of a clergyman, who was minister of a parish in Herefordshire During his life the place of his birth was undetermined He was contented to be called an Irishman by the Irish, but would occasionally call himself an Englishman. The question may, without much regret, be left in the obscurity in which he delighted to involve it 10

Whatever was his birth, his education was Irish He was sent at the age of six to the school at Kilkenny, and in his fifteenth year (1682) was admitted into the University of Dublin

In his academical studies he was either not diligent or not happy. It must disappoint every reader's expectation, that, when at the usual time he claimed the Bachelorship of Arts, he was found by the examiners too conspicuously deficient for regular admission, and obtained his degree at last by *special favour*, a term used in that university to denote want of merit. 20

Of this disgrace it may be easily supposed that he was much ashamed, and shame had its proper effect in producing reformation. He resolved from that time to study eight hours a day, and continued his industry for seven years, with what improvement is sufficiently known This part of his story well deserves to be remembered, 30

it may afford useful admonition and powerful encouragement to men, whose abilities have been made for a time useless by their passions or pleasures, and who, having lost one part of life in idleness, are tempted to throw away the remainder in despair

In this course of daily application he continued three years longer at Dublin, and in this time, if the observation and memory of an old companion may be trusted, he drew the first sketch of his "Tale of a Tub"

When he was about one-and-twenty (1688), being by the death
10 of Godwin Swift, his uncle, who had supported him, left without subsistence, he went to consult his mother, who then lived at Leicester, about the future course of his life, and by her direction solicited the advice and patronage of Sir William Temple, who had married one of Mrs Swift's relations, and whose father Sir John Temple, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, had lived in great familiarity of friendship with Godwin Swift, by whom Jonathan had been to that time maintained

Temple received with sufficient kindness the nephew of his
20 father's friend with whom he was, when they conversed together, so much pleased that he detained him two years in his house Here he became known to King William, who sometimes visited Temple when he was disabled by the gout and, being attended by Swift in the garden, shewed him how to cut asparagus in the Dutch way

King William's notions were all military, and he expressed his kindness to Swift by offering to make him a captain of horse

When Temple removed to Moor-park, he took Swift with him, and when he was consulted by the Earl of Portland about the expedience of complying with a bill then depending for making parliaments triennial, against which King William was strongly prejudiced, after
30 having in vain tried to shew the Earl that the proposal involved nothing dangerous to royal power, he sent Swift for the same purpose to the King Swift, who probably was proud of his employment, and went with all the confidence of a young man, found his arguments, and his art of displaying them, made totally ineffectual by the predetermination of the King, and used to mention this disappointment as his first antidote against vanity

Before he left Ireland he contracted a disorder, as he thought, by eating too much fruit The original of disease is commonly obscure Almost every boy eats as much fruit as he can get, without any
40 great inconvenience The disease of Swift was giddiness with

deafness, which attacked him from time to time, began very early, pursued him through life, and at last sent him to the grave, deprived of reason

Being much oppressed at Moor-park by this grievous malady, he was advised to try his native air, and went to Ireland ; but, finding no benefit, returned to Sir William, at whose house he continued his studies, and is known to have read among other books Cyprian and Irenæus. He thought exercise of great necessity, and used to run half a mile up and down a hill every two hours

It is easy to imagine that the mode in which his first degree was 10 conferred left him no great fondness for the University of Dublin, and therefore he resolved to become a Master of Arts at Oxford In the testimonial which he produced the words of disgrace were omitted, and he took his Master's degree (July 5, 1692) with such reception and regard as fully contented him

While he lived with Temple, he used to pay his mother at Leicester an yearly visit He travelled on foot, unless some violence of weather drove him into a waggon, and at night he would go to a penny lodging, where he purchased clean sheets for sixpence This practice Lord Orrery imputes to his innate love of grossness and 20 vulgarity some may ascribe it to his desire of surveying human life through all its varieties, and others, perhaps with equal probability, to a passion which seems to have been deep fixed in his heart, the love of a shilling

In time he began to think that his attendance at Moor-park deserved some other recompence than the pleasure, however mingled with improvement, of Temple's conversation, and grew so impatient that (1694) he went away in discontent

Temple, conscious of having given reason for complaint, is said to have made him Deputy Master of the Rolls in Ireland, which, 30 according to his kinsman's account, was an office which he knew him not able to discharge Swift therefore resolved to enter into the Church, in which he had at first no higher hopes than of the chaplainship to the factory at Lisbon, but being recommended to Lord Capel, he obtained the prebend of Kilroot in Connor, of about a hundred pounds a year

But the infirmities of Temple made a companion like Swift so necessary, that he invited him back, with a promise to procure him English preferment, in exchange for the prebend which he desired him to resign With this request Swift complied, having perhaps 40

equally repented their separation, and they lived on together with mutual satisfaction; and in the four years that passed between his return and Temple's death it is probable that he wrote the "Tale of a Tub" and the "Battle of the Books"

Swift began early to think, or to hope, that he was a poet, and wrote Pindarick Odes to Temple, to the King, and to the Athenian Society, a knot of obscure men, who published a periodical pamphlet of answers to questions, sent, or supposed to be sent, by letters. I have been told that Dryden, having perused these verses, said,
 10 "Cousin Swift, you will never be a poet," and that this denunciation was the motive of Swift's perpetual malevolence to Dryden.

In 1699 Temple died, and left a legacy with his manuscripts to Swift, for whom he had obtained from King William a promise of the first prebend that should be vacant at Westminster or Canterbury.

That this promise might not be forgotten, Swift dedicated to the King the posthumous works with which he was intrusted, but neither the dedication, nor tenderness for the man whom he once had treated with confidence and fondness, revived in King William
 20 the remembrance of his promise. Swift awhile attended the Court, but soon found his solicitations hopeless.

He was then invited by the Earl of Berkeley to accompany him into Ireland, as his private secretary, but after having done the business till their arrival at Dublin, he then found that one Bush had persuaded the Earl that a clergyman was not a proper secretary, and had obtained the office for himself. In a man like Swift such circumvention and inconstancy must have excited violent indignation.

But he had yet more to suffer. Lord Berkeley had the disposal
 30 of the deanery of Derry, and Swift expected to obtain it, but by the secretary's influence, supposed to have been secured by a bribe, it was bestowed on somebody else, and Swift was dismissed with the livings of Laracor and Rathbeggan in the diocese of Meath, which together did not equal half the value of the deanery.

At Laracor he increased the parochial duty by reading prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays, and performed all the offices of his profession with great decency and exactness.

Soon after his settlement at Laracor he invited to Ireland the unfortunate Stella, a young woman whose name was Johnson, the
 40 daughter of the steward of Sir William Temple, who, in consideration

of her father's virtues, left her a thousand pounds With her came Mrs Dingley, whose whole fortune was twenty-seven pounds a year for her life With these ladies he passed his hours of relaxation, and to them he opened his bosom, but they never resided in the same house, nor did he see either without a witness They lived at the parsonage, when Swift was away; and when he returned, removed to a lodging, or to the house of a neighbouring clergyman.

Swift was not one of those minds which amaze the world with early pregnancy. his first work, except his few poetical essays, 10 was the "Dissensions in Athens and Rome," published (1701) in his thirty-fourth year After its appearance, paying a visit to some bishop, he heard mention made of the new pamphlet that Burnet had written, replete with political knowledge When he seemed to doubt Burnet's right to the work, he was told by the bishop that he was *a young man*, and still persisting to doubt, that he was *a very positive young man*

Three years afterwards (1704) was published "The Tale of a Tub," of this book charity may be persuaded to think that it might be written by a man of a peculiar character, without ill intention; 20 but it is certainly of dangerous example That Swift was its author, though it be universally believed, was never owned by himself, nor very well proved by any evidence, but no other claimant can be produced, and he did not deny it when Archbishop Sharp and the Duchess of Somerset, by shewing it to the Queen, debarred him from a bishoprick

When this wild work first raised the attention of the public, Sacheverell, meeting Smalridge, tried to flatter him, by seeming to think him the author, but Smalridge answered with indignation, "Not all that you and I have in the world, nor all that ever we 30 shall have, should hire me to write the 'Tale of a Tub'"

The digression relating to Wotton and Bentley must be confessed to discover want of knowledge, or want of integrity, he did not understand the two controversies, or he willingly misrepresented them But Wit can stand its ground against Truth only a little while The honours due to learning have been justly distributed by the decision of posterity

"The Battle of the Books" is so like the "Combat des Livres," which the same question concerning the Ancients and Moderns had produced in France, that the improbability of such a coincidence 40

of thoughts without communication is not, in my opinion, balanced by the anonymous protestation prefixed, in which all knowledge of the French book is peremptorily disowned.

For some time after Swift was probably employed in solitary study, gaining the qualifications requisite for future eminence. How often he visited England, and with what diligence he attended his parishes, I know not. It was not till about four years afterwards that he became a professed author, and then one year (1708) produced "The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man," the 10 ridicule of Astrology, under the name of "Bickerstaff," the "Argument against abolishing Christianity," and the defence of the Sacramental Test.

"The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man" is written with great coolness, moderation, ease, and perspicuity. The "Argument against abolishing Christianity" is a very happy and judicious irony. One passage in it deserves to be selected —

"If Christianity were once abolished, how could the free-thinkers, the strong reasoners, and the men of profound learning, be able to find another subject so calculated in all points whereon to display 20 their abilities? What wonderful productions of wit should we be deprived of from those, whose genius, by continual practice, hath been wholly turned upon raillery and invectives against religion, and would therefore never be able to shine, or distinguish themselves, upon any other subject? We are daily complaining of the great decline of wit among us, and would take away the greatest, perhaps the only, topic we have left. Who would ever have suspected 30 Asgill for a wit, or Toland for a philosopher, if the inexhaustible stock of Christianity had not been at hand to provide them with materials? What other subject, through all art or nature, could have produced Tindal for a profound author, or furnished him with readers? It is the wise choice of the subject that alone adorns and distinguishes the writer. For had an hundred such pens as these been employed on the side of religion, they would have immediately sunk into silence and oblivion."

The reasonableness of a Test is not hard to be proved, but perhaps it must be allowed that the proper test has not been chosen.

The attention paid to the papers published under the name of *Bickerstaff* induced Steele, when he projected the "Tatler," to assume an appellation which had already gained possession of the 40 reader's notice.

In the year following he wrote a "Project for the Advancement of Religion," addressed to Lady Berkeley, by whose kindness it is not unlikely that he was advanced to his benefices. To this project, which is formed with great purity of intention, and displayed with spriteliness and elegance, it can only be objected that, like many projects, it is, if not generally impracticable, yet evidently hopeless, as it supposes more zeal, concord, and perseverance than a view of mankind gives reason for expecting.

He wrote likewise this year a "Vindication of Bickerstaff," and an explanation of an "Ancient Prophecy," part written after 10 the facts, and the rest never completed, but well planned to excite amazement.

Soon after began the busy and important part of Swift's life. He was employed (1710) by the primate of Ireland to solicit the Queen for a remission of the First Fruits and Twentieth Parts to the Irish clergy. With this purpose he had recourse to Mr. Harley, to whom he was mentioned as a man neglected and oppressed by the last Ministry, because he had refused to co-operate with some of their schemes. What he had refused has never been told, what he had suffered was, I suppose, the exclusion from a bishoprick by 20 the remonstrances of Sharp, whom he describes as *the harmless tool of others' hate*, and whom he represents as afterwards *suing for pardon*.

Harley's designs and situation were such as made him glad of an auxiliary so well qualified for his service, he therefore soon admitted him to familiarity, whether ever to confidence some have made a doubt, but it would have been difficult to excite his zeal without persuading him that he was trusted, and not very easy to delude him by false persuasions.

He was certainly admitted to those meetings in which the first 30 hints and original plan of action are supposed to have been formed; and was one of the sixteen Ministers, or agents of the Ministry, who met weekly at each other's houses, and were united by the name of *Brother*.

Being not immediately considered as an obdurate Tory, he conversed indiscriminately with all the wits, and was yet the friend of Steele, who, in the "Tatler," which began in 1710, confesses the advantages of his conversation, and mentions something contributed by him to his paper. But he was now immersing into political controversy, for the same year produced the "Examiner," of which 40

Swift wrote thirty-three papers. In argument he may be allowed to have the advantage, for where a wide system of conduct and the whole of a public character is laid open to enquiry, the accuser, having the choice of facts, must be very unskilful if he does not prevail, but with regard to wit, I am afraid none of Swift's papers will be found equal to those by which Addison opposed him

Early in the next year he published a "Proposal for Correcting, Improving, and Ascertaining the English Tongue," in a Letter to the Earl of Oxford, written without much knowledge of the general
10 nature of language, and without any accurate enquiry into the history of other tongues. The certainty and stability which, contrary to all experience, he thinks attainable, he proposes to secure by instituting an academy, the decrees of which every man would have been willing and many would have been proud, to disobey, and which, being renewed by successive elections, would in a short time have differed from itself

He wrote the same year a "Letter to the October Club," a number of Tory gentlemen sent from the country to Parliament, who formed themselves into a club, to the number of about a hundred,
20 and met to animate the zeal and raise the expectations of each other. They thought, with great reason, that the Ministers were losing opportunities, that sufficient use was not made of the ardour of the nation: they called loudly for more changes, and stronger efforts, and demanded the punishment of part, and the dismissal of the rest, of those whom they considered as public robbers

Their eagerness was not gratified by the Queen, or by Harley. The Queen was probably slow because she was afraid, and Harley was slow because he was doubtful, he was a Tory only by necessity, or for convenience, and when he had power in his hands, had no
30 settled purpose for which he should employ it, forced to gratify to a certain degree the Tories who supported him, but unwilling to make his reconciliation to the Whigs utterly desperate, he corresponded at once with the two expectants of the Crown, and kept, as has been observed, the succession undetermined. Not knowing what to do, he did nothing, and with the fate of a double-dealer at last he lost his power, but kept his enemies

Swift seems to have concurred in opinion with the October Club, but it was not in his power to quicken the tardiness of Harley, whom he stimulated as much as he could, but with little effect. He
40 that knows not whither to go is in no haste to move. Harley, who

was perhaps not quick by nature, became yet more slow by irresolution, and was content to hear that dilatoriness lamented as natural, which he applauded in himself as politic.

Without the Tories, however, nothing could be done, and, as they were not to be gratified, they must be appeased, and the conduct of the Minister, if it could not be vindicated, was to be plausibly excused

Swift now attained the zenith of his political importance he published (1712) the "Conduct of the Allies," ten days before the Parliament assembled The purpose was to persuade the nation 10 to a peace, and never had any writer more success The people, who had been amused with bonfires and triumphal processions, and looked with idolatry on the General and his friends, who, as they thought, had made England the arbitress of nations, were confounded between shame and rage, when they found that *mines had been exhausted, and millions destroyed*, to secure the Dutch or aggrandize the Emperor, without any advantage to ourselves; that we had been bribing our neighbours to fight their own quarrel, and that amongst our enemies we might number our allies

That is now no longer doubted, of which the nation was then 20 first informed, that the war was unnecessarily protracted to fill the pockets of Marlborough, and that it would have been continued without end, if he could have continued his annual plunder. But Swift, I suppose, did not yet know what he has since written, that a commission was drawn which would have appointed him General for life, had it not become ineffectual by the resolution of Lord Cowper, who refused the seal

Whatever is received, say the schools, is received in proportion to the recipient The power of a political treatise depends much upon the disposition of the people; the nation was then combustible, 30 and a spark set it on fire It is boasted that between November and January eleven thousand were sold, a great number at that time, when we were not yet a nation of readers To its propagation certainly no agency of power or influence was wanting It furnished arguments for conversation, speeches for debate, and materials for parliamentary resolutions

Yet, surely, whoever surveys this wonder-working pamphlet with cool perusal, will confess that its efficacy was supplied by the passions of its readers, that it operates by the mere weight of facts, with very little assistance from the hand that produced them.

This year (1712) he published his "Reflections on the Barrier Treaty," which carries on the design of his "Conduct of the Allies," and shews how little regard in that negotiation had been shewn to the interest of England, and how much of the conquered country had been demanded by the Dutch

This was followed by "Remarks on the Bishop of Sarum's Introduction to his third Volume of the History of the Reformation," a pamphlet which Burnet published as an alarm, to warn the nation of the approach of Popery Swift, who seems to have disliked the
 10 bishop with something more than political aversion, treats him like one whom he is glad of an opportunity to insult.

Swift, being now the declared favourite and supposed confidant of the Tory Ministry, was treated by all that depended on the Court with the respect which dependents know how to pay He soon began to feel part of the misery of greatness, he that could say he knew him, considered himself as having fortune in his power Commissions, solicitations, remonstrances, crowded about him, he was expected to do every man's business, to procure employment for one, and to retain it for another In assisting those who addressed him
 20 he represents himself as sufficiently diligent, and desires to have others believe, what he probably believed himself, that by his interposition many Whigs of merit, and among them Addison and Congreve, were continued in their places But every man of known influence has so many petitions which he cannot grant, that he must necessarily offend more than he gratifies, because the preference given to one affords all the rest a reason for complaint *When I give away a place,* said Lewis XIV, *I make an hundred discontented, and one ungrateful*

Much has been said of the equality and independence which he
 30 preserved in his conversation with the Ministers, of the frankness of his remonstrances, and the familiarity of his friendship In accounts of this kind a few single incidents are set against the general tenour of behaviour. No man, however, can pay a more servile tribute to the great, than by suffering his liberty in their presence to aggrandize him in his own esteem Between different ranks of the community there is necessarily some distance he who is called by his superior to pass the interval may properly accept the invitation, but petulance and obtrusion are rarely produced by magnanimity, nor have often any nobler cause than the pride of importance, and the
 40 malice of inferiority He who knows himself necessary may set, while that necessity lasts, a high value upon himself, as, in a lower

condition, a servant eminently skilful may be saucy ; but he is saucy only because he is servile Swift appears to have preserved the kindness of the great when they wanted him no longer , and therefore it must be allowed that the childish freedom, to which he seems enough inclined, was overpowered by his better qualities

His disinterestedness has been likewise mentioned , a strain of heroism which would have been in his condition romantic and superfluous Ecclesiastical benefices, when they become vacant, must be given away , and the friends of power may, if there be no inherent disqualification, reasonably expect them Swift accepted (1713) the deanery of St. Patrick, the best preferment that his friends could venture to give him That Ministry was in a great degree supported by the clergy, who were not yet reconciled to the author of the " Tale of a Tub," and would not without much discontent and indignation have borne to see him installed in an English cathedral 10

He refused, indeed, fifty pounds from Lord Oxford , but he accepted afterwards a draught of a thousand upon the Exchequer, which was intercepted by the Queen's death, and which he resigned, as he says himself, "*multa gemens,*" with many a groan.

In the midst of his power and his politics, he kept a journal of his visits, his walks, his interviews with Ministers, and quarrels with his servant, and transmitted it to Mrs Johnson and Mrs Dingley, to whom he knew that whatever befell him was interesting, and no accounts could be too minute Whether these diurnal trifles were properly exposed to eyes which had never received any pleasure from the presence of the Dean, may be reasonably doubted; they have, however, some odd attraction, the reader, finding frequent mention of names which he has been used to consider as important, goes on in hope of information; and, as there is nothing to fatigue attention, if he is disappointed he can hardly complain. It is easy to perceive from every page that though ambition pressed Swift into a life of bustle, the wish for a life of ease was always returning 20 30

He went to take possession of his deanery as soon as he had obtained it; but he was not suffered to stay in Ireland more than a fortnight before he was recalled to England, that he might reconcile Lord Oxford and Lord Bolingbroke, who began to look on one another with malevolence, which every day increased, and which Bolingbroke appeared to retain in his last years

Swift contrived an interview, from which they both departed discontented; he procured a second, which only convinced him that 40

the feud was irreconcilable he told them his opinion, that all was lost This denunciation was contradicted by Oxford, but Bolingbroke whispered that he was right

Before this violent dissension had shattered the Ministry, Swift had published, in the beginning of the year (1714), "The Public Spirit of the Whigs," in answer to "The Crisis," a pamphlet for which Steele was expelled from the House of Commons Swift was now so far alienated from Steele as to think him no longer entitled to decency, and therefore treats him sometimes with contempt, and
10 sometimes with abhorrence

In this pamphlet the Scotch were mentioned in terms so provoking to that irritable nation that, resolving *not to be offended with impunity*, the Scotch Lords in a body demanded an audience of the Queen, and solicited reparation A proclamation was issued, in which three hundred pounds were offered for the discovery of the author From this storm he was, as he relates, *secured by a sleight*, of what kind, or by whose prudence, is not known, and such was the increase of his reputation that the *Scottish Nation applied again that he would be their friend*

20 He was become so formidable to the Whigs that his familiarity with the Ministers was clamoured at in Parliament, particularly by two men, afterwards of great note, Aislabie and Walpole

But, by the disunion of his great friends, his importance and his designs were now at an end, and seeing his services at last useless, he retired about June (1714) into Berkshire, where, in the house of a friend, he wrote what was then suppressed, but has since appeared under the title of "Free Thoughts on the present State of Affairs"

While he was waiting in this retirement for events which time
30 or chance might bring to pass, the death of the Queen broke down at once the whole system of Tory politics, and nothing remained but to withdraw from the implacability of triumphant Whiggism, and shelter himself in unenvied obscurity

The accounts of his reception in Ireland, given by Lord Orrery and Dr Delany, are so different, that the credit of the writers, both undoubtedly veracious, cannot be saved but by supposing what I think is true, that they speak of different times When Delany says that he was received with respect, he means for the first fortnight, when he came to take legal possession, and when Lord
40 Orrery tells that he was pelted by the populace, he is to be

understood of the time when, after the Queen's death, he became a settled resident.

The Archbishop of Dublin gave him at first some disturbance in the exercise of his jurisdiction, but it was soon discovered that between prudence and integrity he was seldom in the wrong, and that, when he was right, his spirit did not easily yield to opposition.

Having so lately quitted the tumults of a party and the intrigues of a Court, they still kept his thoughts in agitation, as the sea fluctuates awhile when the storm has ceased. He therefore filled his hours with some historical attempts, relating to the *Changes of 10 the Ministers and the Conduct of the Ministry*. He likewise is said to have written a "History of the Four Last Years of Queen Anne," which he began in her lifetime, and afterwards laboured with great attention, but never published. It was after his death in the hands of Lord Orrery and Dr King. A book under that title was published, with Swift's name, by Dr Lucas; of which I can only say that it seemed by no means to correspond with the notions that I had formed of it, from a conversation which I once heard between the Earl of Orrery and old Mr. Lewis.

Swift now, much against his will, commenced Irishman for life, 20 and was to contrive how he might be best accommodated in a country where he considered himself as in a state of exile. It seems that his first recourse was to piety. The thoughts of death rushed upon him, at this time, with such incessant importunity, that they took possession of his mind, when he first waked, for many years together.

He opened his house by a public table two days a week, and found his entertainments gradually frequented by more and more visitants of learning among the men, and of elegance among the women. Mrs Johnson had left the country, and lived in lodgings 30 not far from the deanery. On his public days she regulated the table, but appeared at it as a mere guest, like other ladies.

On other days he often dined, at a stated price, with Mr Worrall, a clergyman of his cathedral, whose house was recommended by the peculiar neatness and pleasantry of his wife. To this frugal mode of living he was first disposed by care to pay some debts which he had contracted, and he continued it for the pleasure of accumulating money. His avarice, however, was not suffered to obstruct the claims of his dignity, he was served in plate, and used to say that he was the poorest gentleman in Ireland that ate upon 40 plate, and the richest that lived without a coach.

How he spent the rest of his time, and how he employed his hours of study, has been enquired with hopeless curiosity For who can give an account of another's studies? Swift was not likely to admit any to his privacies, or to impart a minute account of his business or his leisure

Soon after (1716), in his forty-ninth year, he was privately married to Mrs Johnson by Dr Ashe, Bishop of Clogher, as Dr. Madden told me, in the garden The marriage made no change in their mode of life, they lived in different houses, as
10 before, nor did she ever lodge in the deanery but when Swift was seized with a fit of giddiness "It would be difficult," says Lord Orrery, "to prove that they were ever afterwards together without a third person"

The Dean of St Patrick's lived in a private manner, known and regarded only by his friends, till, about the year 1720, he by a pamphlet recommended to the Irish the use, and consequently the improvement, of their manufactures For a man to use the productions of his own labour is surely a natural right, and to like best what he makes himself is a natural passion But to excite this
20 passion and enforce this right appeared so criminal to those who had an interest in the English trade, that the printer was imprisoned, and, as Hawkesworth justly observes, the attention of the public being by this outrageous resentment turned upon the proposal, the author was by consequence made popular

In 1723 died Mrs Van Homrigh, a woman made unhappy by her admiration of wit, and ignominiously distinguished by the name of *Vanessa*, whose conduct has been already sufficiently discussed, and whose history is too well known to be minutely repeated She was a young woman fond of literature, whom Decanus, the Dean, called
30 *Cadmus* by transposition of the letters, took pleasure in directing and instructing, till, from being proud of his praise, she grew fond of his person Swift was then about forty-seven, at an age when vanity is strongly excited by the amorous attention of a young woman If it be said that Swift should have checked a passion which he never meant to gratify, recourse must be had to that extenuation which he so much despised, *men are but men* perhaps, however, he did not at first know his own mind, and, as he represents himself, was undetermined For his admission of her courtship, and his indulgence of her hopes after his marriage to
40 Stella, no other honest plea can be found than that he delayed a disagreeable discovery from time to time, dreading the immediate

bursts of distress, and watching for a favourable moment. She thought herself neglected, and died of disappointment, having ordered by her will the poem to be published, in which *Cadenus* had proclaimed her excellence, and confessed his love. The effect of the publication upon the Dean and Stella is thus related by Delany —

"I have good reason to believe that they both were greatly shocked and distressed (though it may be differently) upon this occasion. The Dean made a tour to the South of Ireland for about two months at this time, to dissipate his thoughts, and give place to obloquy. And Stella retired (upon the earnest invitation of the owner) to the 10 house of a cheerful, generous, good-natured friend of the Dean's, whom she also much loved and honoured. There my informer often saw her; and, I have reason to believe, used his utmost endeavours to relieve, support, and amuse her, in this sad situation.

"One little incident he told me of on that occasion I think I shall never forget. As his friend was an hospitable, open-hearted man, well-beloved, and largely acquainted, it happened one day that some gentlemen dropt in to dinner, who were strangers to Stella's situation; and as the poem of *Cadenus and Vanessa* was then the general topic of conversation, one of them said, 'Surely that Vanessa must be an 20 extraordinary woman, that could inspire the Dean to write so finely upon her.' Mr. Johnson smiled, and answered, 'that she thought that point not quite so clear, for it was well known the Dean could write finely upon a broomstick.'"

The great acquisition of esteem and influence was made by the "Drapier's Letters" in 1724. One Wood, of Wolverhampton, in Staffordshire, a man enterprising and rapacious, had, as is said, by a present to the Duchess of Munster, obtained a patent, empowering him to coin one hundred and eighty thousand pounds of half-pence and farthings for the kingdom of Ireland, in which there was 30 a very inconvenient and embarrassing scarcity of copper coin; so that it was possible to run in debt upon the credit of a piece of money; for the cook or keeper of an ale-house could not refuse to supply a man that had silver in his hand, and the buyer would not leave his money without change.

The project was therefore plausible. The scarcity, which was already great, Wood took care to make greater, by agents who gathered up the old half-pence; and was about to turn his brass into gold, by pouring the treasures of his new mint upon Ireland, when Swift, finding the metal was debased to an enormous degree, wrote 40

letters, under the name of *M B, Drapier*, to shew the folly of receiving, and the mischief that must ensue by giving, gold and silver for coin worth perhaps not a third part of its nominal value

The nation was alarmed, the new coin was universally refused, but the governors of Ireland considered resistance to the King's patent as highly criminal, and one Whitshed, then Chief Justice, who had tried the printer of the former pamphlet, and sent out the jury nine times, till by clamour and menaces they were frightened into a special verdict, now presented the *Drapier*, but could not prevail
10 on the grand jury to find the bill

Lord Carteret and the Privy Council published a proclamation, offering three hundred pounds for discovering the author of the *Fourth Letter* Swift had concealed himself from his printers, and trusted only his butler, who transcribed the paper The man, immediately after the appearance of the proclamation, strolled from the house, and staid out all night, and part of the next day There was reason enough to fear that he had betrayed his master for the reward, but he came home, and the Dean ordered him to put off his livery, and leave the house, "for," says he, "I know that my life is
20 in your power, and I will not bear, out of fear, either your insolence or negligence" The man excused his fault with great submission, and begged that he might be confined in the house while it was in his power to endanger his master, but the Dean resolutely turned him out, without taking further notice of him, till the term of information had expired, and then received him again Soon afterwards he ordered him and the rest of the servants into his presence, without telling his intentions, and bade them take notice that their fellow-servant was no longer Robert the butler, but that his integrity had made him Mr Blakeney, verger of St Patrick's, an officer whose
30 income was between thirty and forty pounds a year yet he still continued for some years to serve his old master as his butler

Swift was known from this time by the appellation of *The Dean* He was honoured by the populace, as the champion, patron, and instructor of Ireland, and gained such power as, considered both in its extent and duration, scarcely any man has ever enjoyed without greater wealth or higher station

He was from this important year the oracle of the traders, and the idol of the rabble, and by consequence was feared and courted by all to whom the kindness of the traders or the populace was
40 necessary The *Drapier* was a sign, the *Drapier* was a health, and

which way soever the eye or the ear was turned, some tokens were found of the nation's gratitude to the Drapier

The benefit was indeed great, he had rescued Ireland from a very oppressive and predatory invasion; and the popularity which he had gained he was diligent to keep, by appearing forward and zealous on every occasion where the public interest was supposed to be involved. Nor did he much scruple to boast his influence; for when, upon some attempts to regulate the coin, Archbishop Boulter, then one of the Justices, accused him of exasperating the people, he exculpated himself by saying, "If I had lifted up my finger, they 10 would have torn you to pieces"

But the pleasure of popularity was soon interrupted by domestic misery Mrs. Johnson, whose conversation was to him the great softener of the ills of life, began in the year of the Drapier's triumph to decline, and two years afterwards was so wasted with sickness, that her recovery was considered as hopeless.

Swift was then in England, and had been invited by Lord Bolingbroke to pass the winter with him in France; but this call of calamity hastened him to Ireland, where perhaps his presence contributed to restore her to imperfect and tottering health 20

He was now so much at ease that (1726) he returned to England; where he collected three volumes of *Miscellanies* in conjunction with Pope, who prefixed a querulous and apologetical Preface

This important year sent likewise into the world "*Gulliver's Travels*," a production so new and strange, that it filled the reader with a mingled emotion of merriment and amazement. It was received with such avidity that the price of the first edition was raised before the second could be made, it was read by the high and the low, the learned and illiterate. Criticism was for a while lost in wonder, no rules of judgment were applied to a book written in 30 open defiance of truth and regularity But when distinctions came to be made, the part which gave the least pleasure was that which describes the Flying Island, and that which gave the most disgust must be the history of the *Houyhnhnms*

While Swift was enjoying the reputation of his new work, the news of the King's death arrived, and he kissed the hands of the new King and Queen three days after their accession

By the Queen, when she was Princess, he had been treated with some distinction, and was well received by her in her exaltation; but whether she gave hopes which she never took care to satisfy, or 40

he formed expectations which she never meant to raise, the event was that he always afterwards thought on her with malevolence, and particularly charged her with breaking her promise of some medals which she engaged to send him.

I know not whether she had not, in her turn, some reason for complaint. A letter was sent her, not so much entreating as requiring her patronage of Mrs. Barber, an ingenious Irishwoman, who was then begging subscriptions for her Poems. To this letter was subscribed the name of Swift, and it has all the appearance of his
 10 diction and sentiments; but it was not written in his hand, and had some little improprieties. When he was charged with this letter, he laid hold of the inaccuracies, and urged the improbability of the accusation; but never denied it. He shuffles between cowardice and veracity, and talks big when he says nothing.

He seemed desirous enough of recommencing courtier, and endeavoured to gain the kindness of Mrs. Howard, remembering what Mrs. Masham had performed in former times, but his flatteries were, like those of the other wits, unsuccessful; the lady either wanted power, or had no ambition of poetical immortality.

20 He was seized not long afterwards by a fit of giddiness, and again heard of the sickness and danger of Mrs. Johnson. He then left the house of Pope, as it seems, with very little ceremony, finding that *two sick friends cannot live together*, and did not write to him till he found himself at Chester.

He returned to a home of sorrow, poor Stella was sinking into the grave, and, after a languishing decay of about two months, died, in her forty-seventh year, on January 28, 1728. How much he wished her life, his papers shew, nor can it be doubted that he dreaded the death of her whom he loved most, aggravated by the con-
 30 sciousness that himself had hastened it.

Beauty and the power of pleasing, the greatest external advantages that woman can desire or possess, were fatal to the unfortunate Stella. The man whom she had the misfortune to love was, as Delany observes, fond of singularity, and desirous to make a mode of happiness for himself, different from the general course of things and order of Providence. From the time of her arrival in Ireland he seems resolved to keep her in his power, and therefore hindered a match sufficiently advantageous, by accumulating unreasonable demands, and prescribing conditions that could not be
 40 performed. While she was at her own disposal he did not consider his possession as secure, resentment, ambition, or caprice might

separate them ; he was therefore resolved to make *assurance double sure*, and to appropriate her by a private marriage, to which he had annexed the expectation of all the pleasures of perfect friendship, without the uneasiness of conjugal restraint. But with this state poor Stella was not satisfied, she never was treated as a wife, and to the world she had the appearance of a mistress. She lived sullenly on, in hope that in time he would own and receive her, but the time did not come till the change of his manners and depravation of his mind made her tell him, when he offered to acknowledge her, that *it was too late*. She then gave up herself to sorrowful 10
resentment, and died under the tyranny of him by whom she was in the highest degree loved and honoured.

What were her claims to this eccentric tenderness, by which the laws of nature were violated to retain her, curiosity will enquire ; but how shall it be gratified ? Swift was a lover ; his testimony may be suspected. Delany and the Irish saw with Swift's eyes, and therefore add little confirmation. That she was virtuous, beautiful, and elegant, in a very high degree, such admiration from such a lover makes it very probable, but she had not much literature, for she could not spell her own language, and of her wit, so loudly vaunted, 20
the smart sayings which Swift himself has collected afford no splendid specimen.

The reader of Swift's "Letter to a Lady on her Marriage" may be allowed to doubt whether his opinion of female excellence ought implicitly to be admitted, for, if his general thoughts on women were such as he exhibits, a very little sense in a lady would enrap-
ture, and a very little virtue would astonish him. Stella's supremacy, therefore, was perhaps only local, she was great, because her associates were little.

In some remarks lately published on the life of Swift this marriage 30
is mentioned as fabulous, or doubtful. but, alas ! poor Stella, as Dr Madden told me, related her melancholy story to Dr Sheridan, when he attended her as a clergyman to prepare her for death ; and Delany mentions it not with doubt, but only with regret. Swift never mentioned her without a sigh.

The rest of his life was spent in Ireland, in a country to which not even power almost despotic, nor flattery almost idolatrous, could reconcile him. He sometimes wished to visit England, but always found some reason of delay. He tells Pope, in the decline of life, that he hopes once more to see him, *but if not*, says he, *we 40*
must part, as all human beings have parted.

After the death of Stella his benevolence was contracted, and his severity exasperated, he drove his acquaintance from his table, and wondered why he was deserted. But he continued his attention to the public, and wrote from time to time such directions, admonitions, or censures, as the exigency of affairs, in his opinion, made proper, and nothing fell from his pen in vain.

In a short poem on the Presbyterians, whom he always regarded with detestation, he bestowed one stricture upon Bettesworth, a lawyer eminent for his insolence to the clergy, which, from
 10 very considerable reputation, brought him into immediate and universal contempt. Bettesworth enraged at his disgrace and loss, went to Swift, and demanded whether he was the author of that poem. "Mr Bettesworth," answered he, "I was in my youth acquainted with great lawyers, who, knowing my disposition to satire, advised me that, if any scoundrel or blockhead whom I had lampooned should ask, *Are you the author of this paper?* I should tell him that I was not the author, and therefore I tell you, Mr Bettesworth, that I am not the author of these lines."

Bettesworth was so little satisfied with this account, that he
 20 publicly professed his resolution of a violent and corporal revenge, but the inhabitants of St Patrick's district embodied themselves in the Dean's defence. Bettesworth declared in Parliament that Swift had deprived him of twelve hundred pounds a year.

Swift was popular a while by another mode of beneficence. He set aside some hundreds to be lent in small sums to the poor, from five shillings, I think, to five pounds. He took no interest, and only required that at repayment a small fee should be given to the accomptant, but he required that the day of promised payment should be exactly kept. A severe and punctilious temper is ill
 30 qualified for transactions with the poor: the day was often broken, and the loan was not repaid. This might have been easily foreseen, but for this Swift had made no provision of patience or pity. He ordered his debtors to be sued. A severe creditor has no popular character, what then was likely to be said of him who employs the catchpoll under the appearance of charity? The clamour against him was loud, and the resentment of the populace outrageous, he was therefore forced to drop his scheme, and own the folly of expecting punctuality from the poor.

His asperity continually increasing condemned him to solitude,
 40 and his resentment of solitude sharpened his asperity. He was not, however, totally deserted: some men of learning, and some

women of elegance, often visited him; and he wrote from time to time either verse or prose, of his verses he willingly gave copies, and is supposed to have felt no discontent when he saw them printed. His favourite maxim was *vive la bagatelle*; he thought trifles a necessary part of life, and perhaps found them necessary to himself. It seems impossible to him to be idle, and his disorders made it difficult or dangerous to be long seriously studious, or laboriously diligent. The love of ease is always gaining upon age, and he had one temptation to petty amusements peculiar to himself, whatever he did, he was sure to hear applauded, 10 and such was his predominance over all that approached, that all their applauses were probably sincere. He that is much flattered soon learns to flatter himself, we are commonly taught our duty by fear or shame, and how can they act upon the man who hears nothing but his own praises?

As his years increased, his fits of giddiness and deafness grew more frequent, and his deafness made conversation difficult, they grew likewise more severe, till in 1736, as he was writing a poem called "The Legion Club," he was seized with a fit so painful, and so long continued, that he never after thought it proper to attempt 20 any work of thought or labour.

He was always careful of his money, and was therefore no liberal entertainer, but was less frugal of his wine than of his meat. When his friends of either sex came to him in expectation of a dinner, his custom was to give every one a shilling, that they might please themselves with their provision. At last his avarice grew too powerful for his kindness, he would refuse a bottle of wine, and in Ireland no man visits where he cannot drink.

Having thus excluded conversation, and desisted from study, he had neither business nor amusement, for having, by some ridicu- 30 lous resolution or mad vow, determined never to wear spectacles, he could make little use of books in his later years. His ideas, therefore, being neither renovated by discourse, nor increased by reading, wore gradually away, and left his mind vacant to the vexations of the hour, till at last his anger was heightened into madness.

He however permitted one book to be published, which had been the production of former years, "Polite Conversation," which appeared in 1738. "The Directions for Servants" was printed soon after his death. These two performances shew a mind incessantly 30 attentive, and, when it was not employed upon great things, busy with minute occurrences. It is apparent that he must have had

the habit of noting whatever he observed, for such a number of particulars could never have been assembled by the power of recollection

He grew more violent, and his mental powers declined, till (1741) it was found necessary that legal guardians should be appointed of his person and fortune. He now lost distinction. His madness was compounded of rage and fatuity. The last face that he knew was that of Mrs. Whiteway, and her he ceased to know in a little time. His meat was brought him cut into mouthfuls, 10 but he would never touch it while the servant staid, and at last, after it had stood perhaps an hour, would eat it walking, for he continued his old habit, and was on his feet ten hours a day.

Next year (1742) he had an inflammation in his left eye, which swelled it to the size of an egg, with boils in other parts, he was kept long waking with the pain, and was not easily restrained by five attendants from tearing out his eye.

The tumour at last subsided, and a short interval of reason ensuing, in which he knew his physician and his family, gave hopes of his recovery; but in a few days he sunk into lethargic stupidity, 20 motionless, heedless, and speechless. But it is said that, after a year of total silence, when his housekeeper, on the 30th of November, told him that the usual bonfires and illuminations were preparing to celebrate his birth-day, he answered, *It is all folly, they had better let it alone*.

It is remembered that he afterwards spoke now and then, or gave some intimation of a meaning, but at last sunk into perfect silence, which continued till about the end of October, 1744, when, in his seventy-eighth year, he expired without a struggle.

When Swift is considered as an author, it is just to estimate his 30 powers by their effects. In the reign of Queen Anne he turned the stream of popularity against the Whigs, and must be confessed to have dictated for a time the political opinions of the English nation. In the succeeding reign he delivered Ireland from plunder and oppression, and shewed that wit, confederated with truth, had such force as authority was unable to resist. He said truly of himself, that Ireland was his debtor. It was from the time when he first began to patronize the Irish, that they may date their riches and prosperity. He taught them first to know their own interest, their weight, and their strength, and gave them spirit to assert that 40 equality with their fellow-subjects to which they have ever since been making vigorous advances, and to claim those rights which

they have at last established. Nor can they be charged with ingratitude to their benefactor, for they revered him as a guardian, and obeyed him as a dictator.

In his works he has given very different specimens both of sentiment and expression. His "Tale of a Tub" has little resemblance to his other pieces. It exhibits a vehemence and rapidity of mind, a copiousness of images, and vivacity of diction, such as he afterwards never possessed, or never exerted. It is of a mode so distinct and peculiar that it must be considered by itself, what is true of that is not true of any thing else which he has written.

10

In his other works is found an equable tenour of easy language, which rather trickles than flows. His delight was in simplicity. That he has in his works no metaphor, as has been said, is not true, but his few metaphors seem to be received rather by necessity than choice. He studied purity; and though perhaps all his strictures are not exact, yet it is not often that solecisms can be found; and whoever depends on his authority may generally conclude himself safe. His sentences are never too much dilated or contracted, and it will not be easy to find any embarrassment in the complication of his clauses, any inconsequence in his connections, or abruptness in his 20 transitions.

His style was well suited to his thoughts, which are never subtilised by nice disquisitions, decorated by sparkling conceits, elevated by ambitious sentences, or variegated by far-sought learning. He pays no court to the passions, he excites neither surprise nor admiration, he always understands himself, and his readers always understand him. The peruser of Swift wants little previous knowledge, it will be sufficient that he is acquainted with common words and common things, he is neither required to mount elevations, nor to explore profundities, his passage is always on a 30 level, along solid ground, without asperities, without obstruction.

This easy and safe conveyance of meaning it was Swift's desire to attain, and for having attained he deserves praise, though perhaps not the highest praise. For purposes merely didactic, when something is to be told that was not known before, it is the best mode; but against that inattention by which known truths are suffered to be neglected it makes no provision, it instructs, but does not persuade.

By his political education he was associated with the Whigs; but he deserted them when they deserted their principles, yet without running into the contrary extreme; he continued throughout his 40 life to retain the disposition which he assigns to the *Church-of-*

England man, of thinking commonly with the Whigs of the State, and with the Tories of the Church

He was a Churchman rationally zealous, he desired the prosperity, and maintained the honour of the clergy; of the Dissenters he did not wish to inringe the toleration, but he opposed their encroachments

To his duty as Dean he was very attentive. He managed the revenues of his church with exact economy; and it is said by Delany that more money was, under his direction, laid out in repairs than
10 had ever been in the same time since its first erection. Of his choir he was eminently careful, and, though he neither loved nor understood music, took care that all the singers were well qualified, admitting none without the testimony of skilful judges

In his church he restored the practice of weekly communion, and distributed the sacramental elements in the most solemn and devout manner with his own hand. He came to church every morning, preached commonly in his turn, and attended the evening anthem, that it might not be negligently performed

He read the service *rather with a strong nervous voice than in*
20 *a graceful manner, his voice was sharp and high-toned, rather than harmonious.*

He entered upon the clerical state with hope to excel in preaching, but complained that, from the time of his political controversies, *he could only preach pamphlets*. This censure of himself, if judgment be made from those sermons which have been published, was unreasonably severe

The suspicions of his irreligion proceeded in a great measure from his dread of hypocrisy, instead of wishing to seem better, he delighted in seeming worse than he was. He went in London to
30 early prayers, lest he should be seen at church, he read prayers to his servants every morning with such dexterous secrecy, that Dr. Delany was six months in his house before he knew it. He was not only careful to hide the good which he did, but willingly incurred the suspicion of evil which he did not. He forgot what himself had formerly asserted, that hypocrisy is less mischievous than open impiety. Dr. Delany, with all his zeal for his honour, has justly condemned this part of his character

The person of Swift had not many recommendations. He had a kind of muddy complexion, which, though he washed himself with
40 oriental scrupulosity, did not look clear. He had a countenance

sour and severe, which he seldom softened by any appearance of gaiety. He stubbornly resisted any tendency to laughter.

To his domestics he was naturally rough and a man of a rigorous temper, with that vigilance of minute attention which his works discover, must have been a master that few could bear. That he was disposed to do his servants good, on important occasions, is no great mitigation; benefaction can be but rare, and tyrannic peevishness is perpetual. He did not spare the servants of others. Once, when he dined alone with the Earl of Orrery, he said of one that waited in the room, *That man has, since we sat to the table, 10 committed fifteen faults*. What the faults were, Lord Orrery, from whom I heard the story, had not been attentive enough to discover. My number may perhaps not be exact.

In his economy he practised a peculiar and offensive parsimony, without disguise or apology. The practice of saving, being once necessary, became habitual, and grew first ridiculous, and at last detestable. But his avarice, though it might exclude pleasure, was never suffered to encroach upon his virtue. He was frugal by inclination, but liberal by principle, and if the purpose to which he destined his little accumulations 20 be remembered, with his distribution of occasional charity, it will perhaps appear that he only liked one mode of expense better than another, and saved merely that he might have something to give. He did not grow rich by injuring his successors, but left both Laracor and the Deanery more valuable than he found them.—With all this talk of his covetousness and generosity, it should be remembered that he was never rich. The revenue of his Deanery was not much more than seven hundred a year.

His beneficence was not graced with tenderness or civility, he relieved without pity, and assisted without kindness, so that those 30 who were fed by him could hardly love him.

He made a rule to himself to give but one piece at a time, and therefore always stored his pocket with coins of different value.

Whatever he did, he seemed willing to do in a manner peculiar to himself, without sufficiently considering that singularity, as it implies a contempt of the general practice, is a kind of defiance which justly provokes the hostility of ridicule; he therefore who indulges peculiar habits is worse than others, if he be not better.

Of his humour, a story told by Pope may afford a specimen.—

“Dr. Swift has an odd, blunt way, that is mistaken, by strangers, 40 for ill-nature.—’Tis so odd that there’s no describing it but by

facts I'll tell you one that first comes into my head One evening Gay and I went to see him you know how intimately we were all acquainted On our coming in, 'Heyday, gentlemen (says the Doctor), what's the meaning of this visit? How came you to leave all the great Lords that you are so fond of, to come hither to see a poor Dean?'—Because we would rather see you than any of them —'Ay, any one that did not know you so well as I do might believe you But, since you are come, I must get some supper for you, I suppose' No, Doctor, we have supped
 10 already —'Supped already? that's impossible! why, 'tis not eight o'clock yet—That's very strange, but, if you had not supped, I must have got something for you—Let me see, what should I have had? A couple of lobsters, ay, that would have done very well, two shillings—tarts, a shilling, but you will drink a glass of wine with me, though you supped so much before your usual time only to spare my pocket?'—No, we had rather talk with you than drink with you.—'But if you had supped with me, as in all reason you ought to have done, you must then have drunk with me—A bottle of wine, two shillings—two and two is four, and one is five
 20 just two-and-six-pence apiece There, Pope, there's half-a-crown for you, and there s another for you, sir, for I won't save anything by you, I am determined'—This was all said and done with his usual seriousness on such occasions, and, in spite of every thing we could say to the contrary, he actually obliged us to take the money."

In the intercourse of familiar life he indulged his disposition to petulance and sarcasm, and thought himself injured if the licentiousness of his railery, the freedom of his censures, or the petulance of his frolics, was resented or repressed He predominated
 30 over his companions with very high ascendancy, and probably would bear none over whom he could not predominate To give him advice was, in the style of his friend Delany, *to venture to speak to him* This customary superiority soon grew too delicate for truth, and Swift, with all his penetration, allowed himself to be delighted with low flattery

On all common occasions he habitually affects a style of arrogance, and dictates, rather than persuades This authoritative and magisterial language he expected to be received as his peculiar mode of jocularity, but he apparently flattered his own arrogance
 40 by an assumed imperiousness, in which he was ironical only to the resentful, and to the submissive sufficiently serious

He told stories with great felicity, and delighted in doing what he knew himself to do well. He was therefore captivated by the respectful silence of a steady listener, and told the same tales too often.

He did not, however, claim the right of talking alone, for it was his rule, when he had spoken a minute, to give room by a pause for any other speaker. Of time, on all occasions, he was an exact computer, and knew the minutes required to every common operation

It may be justly supposed that there was in his conversation, 10 what appears so frequently in his letters, an affectation of familiarity with the great, an ambition of momentary equality, sought and enjoyed by the neglect of those ceremonies which custom has established as the barriers between one order of society and another. This transgression of regularity was by himself and his admirers termed greatness of soul. But a great mind disdains to hold any thing by courtesy, and therefore never usurps what a claimant may take away. He that encroaches on another's dignity, puts himself in his power; he is either repelled with helpless indignity, or endured by clemency and condescension 20

Of Swift's general habits of thinking, if his letters can be supposed to afford any evidence, he was not a man to be either loved or envied. He seems to have wasted life in discontent, by the rage of neglected pride, and the languishment of unsatisfied desire. He is querulous and fastidious, arrogant and malignant, he scarcely speaks of himself but with indignant lamentations, or of others but with insolent superiority when he is gay, and with angry contempt when he is gloomy. From the letters that passed between him and Pope it might be inferred that they, with Arbuthnot and Gay, had engrossed all the understanding and 30 virtue of mankind, that their merits filled the world, or that there was no hope of more. They shew the age involved in darkness, and shade the picture with sullen emulation.

When the Queen's death drove him into Ireland, he might be allowed to regret for a time the interception of his views, the extinction of his hopes, and his ejection from gay scenes, important employment, and splendid friendships, but when time had enabled reason to prevail over vexation, the complaints, which at first were natural, became ridiculous because they were useless. But querulousness was now grown habitual, and he cried out when he 40 probably had ceased to feel. His reiterated wailings persuaded

Bolingbroke that he was really willing to quit his deanery for an English parish, and Bolingbroke procured an exchange, which was rejected, and Swift still retained the pleasure of complaining

The greatest difficulty that occurs in analysing his character is to discover by what depravity of intellect he took delight in revolving ideas, from which almost every other mind shrinks with disgust. The ideas of pleasure, even when criminal, may solicit the imagination, but what has disease, deformity, and filth, upon which the thoughts can be allured to dwell? Delany is willing
10 to think that Swift's mind was not much tainted with this gross corruption before his long visit to Pope. He does not consider how he degrades his hero by making him at fifty-nine the pupil of turpitude, and liable to the malignant influence of an ascendant mind. But the truth is that Gulliver had described his *Yahoos* before the visit, and he that had formed those images had nothing filthy to learn

I have here given the character of Swift as he exhibits himself to my perception, but now let another be heard, who knew him better. Dr. Delany, after long acquaintance, describes him to Lord
20 Orrery in these terms

"My Lord, when you consider Swift's singular, peculiar and most variegated vein of wit, always rightly intended, although not always so rightly directed, delightful in many instances, and salutary even where it is most offensive, when you consider his strict truth, his fortitude in resisting oppression and arbitrary power; his fidelity in friendship, his sincere love and zeal for religion, his uprightness in making right resolutions, and his steadiness in adhering to them, his care of his church, its choir, its economy, and its income, his attention to all those that preached in his cathedral,
30 in order to their amendment in pronunciation and style, as also his remarkable attention to the interest of his successors, preferably to his own present emoluments, his invincible patriotism, even to a country which he did not love, his very various, well-devised, well-judged, and extensive charities throughout his life, and his whole fortune (to say nothing of his wife's) conveyed to the same Christian purposes at his death, charities, from which he could enjoy no honour, advantage, or satisfaction of any kind in this world, when you consider his ironical and humorous, as well his serious schemes, for the promotion of true religion and virtue, his
40 success in soliciting for the First Fruits and Twentieths, to the unspeakable benefit of the Established Church of Ireland, and his felicity (to rate it no higher) in giving occasion to the building

of fifty new churches in London. all this considered, the character of his life will appear like that of his writings; they will both bear to be re-considered and re-examined with the utmost attention, and always discover new beauties and excellences upon every examination.

"They will bear to be considered as the sun, in which the brightness will hide the blemishes; and whenever petulant ignorance, pride, malice, malignity, or envy, interposes to cloud or sully his fame, I will take upon me to pronounce that the eclipse will not last long.

10

"To conclude—no man ever deserved better of any country than Swift did of his. A steady, persevering, inflexible friend, a wise, a watchful, and a faithful counsellor, under many severe trials and bitter persecutions, to the manifest hazard both of his liberty and fortune.

"He lived a blessing, he died a benefactor, and his name will ever live an honour to Ireland."

In the Poetical Works of Dr. Swift there is not much upon which the critic can exercise his powers. They are often humorous, almost always light, and have the qualities which recommend 20 such compositions, easiness and gaiety. They are, for the most part, what their author intended. The diction is correct, the numbers are smooth, and the rhymes exact. There seldom occurs a hard-laboured expression, or a redundant epithet; all his verses exemplify his own definition of a good style, they consist of *proper words in proper places*.

To divide this collection into classes, and shew how some pieces are gross, and some are trifling, would be to tell the reader what he knows already, and to find faults of which the author could not be ignorant, who certainly wrote often not to his judg- 30 ment, but his humour.

It was said, in a Preface to one of the Irish editions, that Swift had never been known to take a single thought from any writer, ancient or modern. This is not literally true, but perhaps no writer can easily be found that has borrowed so little, or that in all his excellences and all his defects, has so well maintained his claim to be considered as original.

NOTES.

Page 1 2 Dr Hawkesworth John Hawkesworth, L. L. D (1715-1773), published in 1755 an edition of Swift's Works, with historical and explanatory notes, and an account of the Dean's life In 1766 he further published some of Swift's Letters, including part of what is known as the *Journal to Stella* Hawkesworth was intimate with Johnson, and Boswell says of him that his imitations of Johnson were sometimes so happy, that it was extremely difficult to distinguish them from the compositions of his great archetype "Hawkesworth was his closest imitator, a circumstance of which that writer would once have been proud to be told, though, when he had become elated by having risen into some degree of consequence, he in a conversation with me had the provoking effrontery to say he was not sensible of it" (Boswell, under January 1, 1753).

8 Written by himself This refers to an autobiographical fragment, written by Swift about 1727, and presented in 1753 by his relative, Deane Swift, to the library of Trinity College, Dublin, where it still exists The fragment is printed in Forster and Craik

9 Attorney, a man who is legally qualified to act on behalf of suitors or defendants in legal proceedings, hence the term came to be almost synonymous with *solicitor*, which is now commoner Swift says of his father that "he had some employments and agencies," which is indefinite enough, he seems in fact to have found it hard to live, until he was appointed Steward of the King's Inns at Dublin in 1666 In the same year he married Abigail Erick, of "a most ancient family" in Leicestershire "This marriage", says Swift, "was on both sides very indiscreet, for his wife brought her husband little or no fortune, and his death happening so suddenly, his son (not then born) hath often been heard to say that he felt the consequences of that marriage, not only through the whole course of his education, but during the greatest part of his life"

10 St Andrew's day, November 30th His father had died in the preceding April, leaving an infant daughter

11 Pope, Alexander Pope, the well-known poet (1688-1744) The Reverend Joseph Spence (1699-1768), Professor of Poetry and then Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, formed a collection of "Anecdotes, Observations, and Characters, of Books and Men, Collected from the Conversation of Mr Pope, and other Eminent Persons of his Time," first published in 1820 The passage referred to here occurs on page 161 of that edition Pope perhaps confused Swift's father with his grandfather, the Reverend Thomas Swift, who had a living in Herefordshire Swift himself always declared that he was an Englishman, born in Ireland "by a perfect accident," when his mother was on the point of returning to her friends at Leicester (Letter to Mr Grant, of March 23, 1734 - Scott, xviii, 184) Again, in a letter to the second Lord Oxford, of June 14, 1737 (Scott, xix, 73), Swift says that he "happened to be dropped in this wretched kingdom, and was a year old before I left it, and to my sorrow did not die before I came back to it again" "It seems to me," says Thackeray, "that Swift was no more an Irishman than a man born of English parents at Calcutta is a Hindoo Swift's heart was English and in England, his habits English, his logic eminently English"

Spence's *Anecdotes* are frequently quoted by Johnson in the *Lives of the Poets*, the original MS having been placed in his hands by the Duke of Newcastle. Of Spence himself Johnson says, in the *Life of Pope*, that "his learning was not very great, and his mind was not very powerful his criticism, however, was commonly just."

18 Kilkenny, an important town in the south-east of Ireland the grammar-school there was considered the best in Ireland at the time. One of Swift's schoolfellows was Congreve, afterwards the well-known dramatist and friend of Dryden, and some years later Berkeley, afterwards bishop of Cloyne and a celebrated philosopher, received part of his education there.

20 Happy, favoured by fortune

24 By special favour Swift's own account is as follows — "By ill-treatment of his relations he was so discouraged and sunk in his spirits that he too much neglected his academic studies, for some parts of which he had no great relish by nature, and turned himself to reading history and poetry, so that when the time came for taking his degree of bachelor of arts, although he had lived with great regularity and due observance of the statutes, he was stopped of his degree for dulness and insufficiency, and at last hardly admitted in a manner little to his credit, which is called in that college *speciali gratia*, on the 15th February, 1685-6, with four more on the same footing, and this discreditable mark, as I am told, stands upon record in their college registry." Craik explains that the degree was obtained not by an examination, but by a scholastic disputation, before being admitted to which a candidate must have completed a certain number of terms, and passed the usual terminal examination. Now Forster discovered a copy of the college roll recording the results of a terminal examination of 1685, in which Swift appears to have done badly in two subjects out of three, he would therefore lose one of the twelve terms necessary before he could be admitted to the disputation. It was usual, however, to grant a *specialis gratia* (special grace) in order to meet such cases; otherwise he could not have taken his degree for another year.

Page 2 5 Application, close attention to his studies

6 An old companion, Waring, a fellow-student of Swift's. According to Deane Swift, Waring asserted that he had seen the *Tale of a Tub* in the handwriting of Dr Swift, when the latter was but nineteen years old. This story, however, is rejected by all Swift's biographers, though it is quite possible that Waring may have seen the work before its publication, not indeed during his student days, but between 1696, when Swift himself tells us it was for the most part written, and 1704, when it appeared. (For Swift's connection with Waring's sister, *Varina*, see note to page 3, line 35.)

10 Godwin Swift was Swift's father's eldest brother. Called to the bar in England, he migrated to Ireland, where he seems to have been fairly successful as a lawyer, but he was married four times, and had a very large family, in addition to which towards the end of his life he lost most of his money through the failure of his speculations, finally becoming insane and dying in 1688. Whilst he had the means, he had supported young Jonathan and his mother, and had given the former the best education possible in Ireland, possibly he had not done it in a very gracious manner, at any rate Swift always felt a certain amount of resentment towards him. According to a well-known story, he was once asked whether his uncle

Godwin had not given him his education "Yes," said Swift, "he gave me the education of a dog" "Then, sir," said the other, "you have not the gratitude of a dog."

His departure from Ireland in 1688 was due partly to the death of his uncle, partly to the breaking out of "the troubles," as he calls them, i.e., the civil war between the partisans of James II and those of William III, which rendered Ireland a dangerous place for Englishmen and Protestants

11 His mother, to whom Swift was deeply attached throughout his life, visiting her on every occasion when he was in England. We know little of her, but she seems to have been a woman of culture and refinement, with delightful powers of conversation and a keen sense of humour "If," said Swift after her death, "the way to Heaven be through piety, truth, justice, and charity, she is there"

13 Sir William Temple (1628-1699), a distinguished statesman belonging to a family connected with Ireland. He sat for a time in the Irish parliament then in 1665 negotiated a treaty for Charles II, and became the English representative at Brussels. In 1668 he made himself famous by the way in which he conducted the negotiations resulting in the Triple Alliance between England, the Netherlands, and Sweden. Soon afterwards Temple was appointed ambassador to Holland, where he took a prominent part in the proceedings which led to the marriage of William and Mary in 1677, and the general pacification of 1679. This was his last piece of diplomatic work. In England he was three times offered the Secretaryship of State, but persistently declined it, and in 1681 he disappeared from public life, though he was occasionally consulted on public affairs by William III. Temple's writings were chiefly essays on political and historical subjects, but he also took part in the great controversy as to the rival merits of the ancients and moderns. In point of style he is generally ranked second only to Dryden amongst the writers of that age.

15 Master of the Rolls, technically, the keeper of the public records. In England the office is held by one of the judges of the High Court, who is also president of the Court of Appeal.

20 Two years. So Swift says in his autobiography, but this first residence with Temple really began towards the end of 1689, and only lasted until May, 1690. Temple describes him in a letter as reading to him, writing for him, and keeping his small accounts. Long afterwards John Temple, Sir William's nephew, who had quarrelled with Swift, gave a spiteful account of the terms of this engagement, saying that Swift was hired at the rate of £20 a year, and his board, but that Sir William never favoured him with his conversation, nor allowed him to sit down at table with him. It must be remembered that there was a very great difference between the two in age, rank, and experience of the world, and Sir William could not be expected to discover Swift's abilities in a moment. Yet we afterwards find him introducing Swift, not only to the Earl of Portland, but even to the King, facts which are not very consistent with the alleged ignominious treatment of Swift in Temple's house though the latter account is adopted by Macanlay.

23 Asparagus, a well-known vegetable, the young and tender shoots of which form a favourite dish. The name is Greek, but is perhaps connected with the Persian *asparag*, a sprout.

Deane Swift asserts that "in their evening conversations, among other bagatelles, the King, as I have heard from the Doctor's own mouth,

offered to make him a captain of horse, and gave him instructions, so great was the freedom of their conversation, how to cut asparagus (a vegetable which his Majesty was extremely fond of) in the Dutch manner "

26 Moor-park, a house which Temple had built for himself near Farnham in Surrey, and to which he returned towards the end of 1689, after a year's residence at Sheen, near London From Swift's own account it is not clear whether he joined Temple before or after this return to Moor-park

27 Earl of Portland This was William Bentinck, the most intimate and devoted of William III's Dutch friends He accompanied his master to England, and was created Earl of Portland in 1689 In spite of his military and diplomatic skill he was not popular, and in 1700 retired from public life He died in 1709

28 Depending, literally, hanging in suspense, *i. e.* awaiting decision, in which sense the simple verb *pending* is also often used

29 Triennial, lasting not longer than three years This was a Whig measure, to which the King at first (in 1693) refused his consent, but he ultimately gave way, in December, 1694 In 1716, the Whig ministers of George I, fearing danger from the Jacobites if an election were held, proposed a *Septennial* Act, by which the existing Parliament was to last for seven years, this Act never having been repealed, seven years is the legal limit of duration of a Parliament at the present day

Strongly prejudiced Both the King and Portland, new as they were to English politics, had got the idea into their heads that it was by assenting to such a Bill that Charles I, lost his throne and his life But the Bill did not prevent the King from dissolving Parliament, it did not say that a Parliament must last three years, but only that it could not last longer

36 Antidote, literally, a remedy taken to counteract the effects of poison "This," says the autobiographical fragment, "was the first time that Mr Swift had ever any converse with Courts, and he told his friends it was the first incident that helped to cure him of vanity" The dates show that the incident belonged to his *second* residence with Temple, spoken of below

37 A disorder, etc There seems little doubt that this was what is now called "labyrinthine vertigo," a disease of the inner ear which produces giddiness and deafness This would satisfactorily account for all the symptoms which the imperfect science of that time attributed to a surfeit of fruit or to a chill The latter explanation is given by Swift in the autobiographical fragment, and also in a letter of August 19, 1727, to Mrs Howard (Scott, xvii, 132) — "About two hours before you were born I got my giddiness, by eating a hundred golden pippins at a time at Richmond, and when you were four years and a quarter old, having made a fine seat about twenty miles farther in Surrey, where I used to read, there I got my deafness "

38 Original, an old-fashioned use of the word in the sense of *origin* or *cause* Johnson means that not much importance need be attached to Swift's theory of the origin of such an obscure matter as a disease, especially as most persons have eaten quantities of fruit without suffering any similar inconvenience

Page 3 2 Sent him to the grave, etc It is pointed out in a subsequent note that this disease had, in all probability, nothing whatever to do with

Swift's final collapse, which was due, partly to senile decay, partly (probably) to the formation of a clot in one portion of the brain

5 Went to Ireland This was in May, 1690 His return to Temple's house is placed by Forster in August, 1690, by Craik "about the close of 1691" The autobiographical fragment merely tells us that "growing into some confidence with Temple, Swift was often trusted with matters of great importance"

7 Cyprian, Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus, a native of Carthage, in Africa, who was converted to Christianity about 245 A D, and became bishop of Carthage. He perished in the persecution under the Emperor Valerian, in 253 A large number of his letters, and a few short treatises from his pen, have survived

8 Ireneus was bishop of Lyons, in Gaul, towards the close of the 2nd century Of most of his works only fragments remain, but these are of great importance for ecclesiastical history, owing to his early date and the fact that he was acquainted in his youth with Polycarp, the disciple of the apostle St John

In this list of books read by Swift occur also Virgil, Homer, Horace, Lucretius, Cicero, Petronius, Ælian, Florus, Herbert's *Henry VIII*, Camden's *Elizabeth*, Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, Voiture, Blackmore's *Prince Arthur*, &c, together with a number of contemporary books of travel But the list belongs to 1697, and therefore falls in Swift's third residence with Temple

13 Testimonial, the *testimonium*, or certificate of his having taken a bachelor's degree at Dublin On producing this he was admitted to the same degree at Oxford in June, and to that of M A in July The "words of disgrace" of course refer to the "special grace," already mentioned At Oxford Swift joined Hart Hall, afterwards known as Hertford College. In a letter of Nov. 29, 1692 (Scott, xv, 244), he thanks his uncle, William Swift, for his care "in my *testimonium*, and it is to very good purpose, for I never was more satisfied than in the behaviour of the university of Oxford to me I had all the civilities I could wish for, and so many substantial favours, that I am ashamed to have been more obliged in a few weeks to strangers than ever I was in seven years to Dublin College"

18 A penny lodging, a house where lodgings could be secured for a penny a night

20. Lord Orrery, John Boyle (1707-1762), fifth Earl of Cork and Orrery (in Ireland), the great-grandson of the Orrery to whom Dryden dedicated his *Rival Ladies* Indifferent health led him to cultivate literature, but he published little besides the *Remarks on Swift's Life and Writings* referred to here This was the first attempt at an account of Swift's life, and had a large sale at first (1751), but neither Orrery's abilities nor his acquaintance with Swift were such as to make the work valuable, and his remarks are frequently spiteful and malicious He was also the friend of Pope and Johnson, the latter of whom described him (Boswell, *Tour to the Hebrides*, Sept 22) as "a feeble-minded man, who, on the publication of Dr Delany's *Remarks* on his book, was so much alarmed that he was afraid to read them Dr Johnson comforted him by telling him they were both in the right, that Delany had seen most of the good side of Swift, Lord Orrery most of the bad"

24 The love of a shilling, *i e*, unwillingness to spend money unless he was forced to do so, of Swift's parsimony Johnson makes

further mention subsequently Delany tells us that if Swift "walked an hour or two on any occasion, instead of taking a coach or a chair, he then cried out that he had earned a shilling or eighteen pence" It must be remembered that the misery of a state of dependence was "burnt into his soul," as Stephen expresses it, early in life to secure independence was what he desired above all things, and for this purpose rigid economy was necessary

25 He began to think, etc In a letter of November 29, 1692 (Scott, xv., 244), to his uncle William Swift, he remarks—"I am not to take orders till the King gives me a prebend, and Sir W Temple, though he promises me the certainty of it, yet is less forward than I could wish, because (I suppose) he believes I shall leave him, and upon some accounts he thinks me a little necessary to him" His next preserved letter is to a cousin at Lisbon, and is dated June 3, 1694 In the course of it he says—"I forgot to tell you I left Sir W Temple a month ago, just as I foretold it to you, and every thing happened thereupon exactly as I guessed He was extremely angry I left him, and yet would not oblige himself any farther than upon my good behaviour, nor would promise anything firmly to me at all I design to be ordained in September next, and make what endeavours I can for something in the Church I wish it may ever lie in my cousin's way or yours to have interest to bring me in Chaplain of the Factory" The meaning of the last sentence is explained lower down

30 Deputy Master Sir William Temple had succeeded to his father's position as Master of the Rolls in Ireland Swift himself tells us that "he had a scruple of entering into the Church merely for support, and Sir William, then being Master of the Rolls in Ireland, offered him an employ of about £120 a year in that office" As was probably expected, Swift refused the offer, and announced his intention of being ordained in Ireland, since no one could now accuse him of entering the Church because no other way of living was open to him, for he might have accepted Temple's offer

31 His kinsman, i e., his cousin, Deane Swift, the grandson of Godwin Swift, and author of an Essay on the Life of his famous relative, many of the stories in which are plainly apocryphal

32 Enter into the Church, a common expression for becoming a clergyman, though theoretically every one who has been baptized is thereby made a member of the Christian Church.

Swift left Moor park in May, 1694, he was ordained deacon in the October of the same year, priest in the following January

34 Factory, a place where *factories* (a legal term for agents) reside and do business on behalf of the merchants who employ them, thus the English and Dutch merchants once had their "factories" at Surat, and elsewhere The term was also applied, as in the present passage, to the general body of *factories* living in such a place It is now almost exclusively used of a building in which goods of any kind are manufactured

Two of Godwin Swift's sons had settled at Lisbon as merchants, and had previously sent Jonathan some pecuniary help when he was urgently in need of it

35 Lord Capel Henery, Lord Capel of Tewkesbury, had held various official appointments in England before he was made one of the three Lords Justices to whom the government of Ireland was entrusted in 1693 In May, 1695, he was appointed Lord Deputy, and died at Dublin just twelve months later.

39 Prebend, 'the stipend or maintenance granted to a canon of a cathedral or collegiate church out of its estate' (Ogilvie) In Swift's case this took the form of a country parish, the income of which was about £100 a year Kilroot is near Belfast, in the north-east of Ireland, and in what was then the diocese of Connor Whilst he was at Kilroot, Swift proposed for the hand of a Miss Waring, with whom he corresponded under the name of Varina He offered to make great sacrifices for her, but the lady seems to have coquetted with him, until at last Swift grew languid, and then indifferent Some time later, when he was becoming famous, Varina renewed the proposal from her side, but Swift repelled her with scorn and contempt

Preferment, an office bringing the holder profit or honour, or both The word is especially used of ecclesiastical offices

Page 4 2. The four years Swift returned to Moor-park in May, 1696, and remained there until Temple's death in January, 1699, a period of less than three years therefore He resigned the living of Kilroot at the end of 1697 The *Tale of a Tub* was written about 1696, the *Battle of the Books* in the following year, though neither was published for some time subsequently.

6 Pindarick Odes Pindar, born near Thebes in Boeotia about 522 B C, was the greatest of the Greek lyric poets, and many of his odes in honour of victors in the Olympic and other Greek games, as well as fragments of other works, have come down to us The obscure and complicated metrical structure of these odes led scholars to suppose for a time that they had no structure at all hence the English "Pindaric Odes" of Abraham Cowley (1618-1667) and his imitators are entirely irregular in their structure Swift's earliest published Ode was addressed to Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was deprived of his see at the time of the Revolution it is dated May, 1689 (Scott, xiv, 3) That to Temple was written at Moor-park in June, 1689 the Ode to the Athenian Society is dated February 14, 1691 Between these two dates Swift seems to have written an *Ode to King William, on his Successes in Ireland*, after the model of Dryden's *Heroic Stanzas on Oliver Cromwell* Of Swift's Pindarics Mr Churton Collins says that "anything worse would be inconceivable"

The Athenian Society was started in 1689 by John Dunton, whom Craik calls "a clever, wayward, and half-mad publisher" He published a weekly journal called the *Athenian Mercury*, in which he and his assistants professed to answer any question that was sent to them on any branch of human knowledge The Society came to an end in 1695

7. Knot, group, small body

9 Dryden, the well-known poet (1631-1700) His grandfather was Sir Erasmus Dryden, whose niece married Thomas Swift, the grandfather of Jonathan The story which follows is said to have been related by Elijah Fenton, the poet, to Warton, who repeats it in his *Essay on Pope* The verses shown to Dryden were the *Ode to the Athenian Society*, perhaps the worst of all these early efforts As Dryden's literary judgments carried the authority of oracles amongst the wits of those times, this pronouncement was a serious blow to Swift "Its effect on him was characteristic He recognised, with the good sense that always distinguished him the justice of the criticism, and he wrote no more ambitious verses But he indemnified himself for the blow his vanity had received, by seizing every opportunity to ridicule and vilify his critic" (Collins) Mr. Saintsbury,

on the other hand, remarks (Scott's *Dryden*, xviii, 284) that (1) the story is doubtful, (2) literary vanity does not seem to have been one of Swift's failings, (3) Dryden's criticism, if made at all, was very unlikely to have been made in an offensive manner. In explanation, therefore, of the bitterness which Swift from time to time displays against "glorious John," Saintsbury refers to (1) the tendency of rising young men of letters to fly at the leaders of their day, (2) the mode in which Dryden laid himself open to satire by his fulsome flatteries, and his somewhat undignified complaints, (3) and especially, the looseness of Dryden's writings, and his way of dealing with the Church of England. In spite of his own coarseness Swift was always very severe on this fault in others, "and the one thing which he never at any time of his life pardoned, or let off without severe punishment, was disrespect to the Church of England and its clergy."

12 Left a legacy, as well as any profits which might be derived from the publication of his posthumous works. The actual legacy was probably small (one version of the autobiography says £100) and though the editing of Temple's works occupied Swift for nearly ten years, he is not likely to have made much (if any) profit out of them.

17 Posthumous works, i.e., Temple's manuscripts, published after their author's death. The word is primarily applied to a child born after its father's death, being simply the Latin *postumus*, or "last," used in a special sense, but the spelling has been accommodated to the false etymology *post humum*, after the ground, i.e., born after the father is laid in the ground.

18 The man, Temple.

20 Attended the Court. Swift had entrusted his application to Sidney, Earl of Romney, who had been a favourite with William, but was now (in Craik's words) "a broken-down and purposeless profligate, who for years had never spent a sober day." The first volume of Temple's works, dedicated to the King, was not published until 1700, when Swift had already returned to Ireland in despair.

22 Earl of Berkeley. Charles, Earl of Berkeley, had been for a time Ambassador in Holland, and from 1699 to 1701 was one of the three Lords Justices charged with the government of Ireland. He died in 1710.

24 One Bush, i.e., a certain man called Bush, a slightly contemptuous way of alluding to him.

27 Circumvention, literally, getting round a person, and so deceiving or entrapping him.

30 Deanery, the office of *dean*, a clergyman who has charge of a cathedral and its estates, and who ranks next to the Bishop of the diocese.

Derry, or Londonderry, an important town in the north of Ireland.

31 By a bribe, it is said, of £1,000. Swift was told that he might still have the place, if he paid a similar amount, but from what we know of his circumstances it is not likely that he was able to do so, even if he had been willing. At any rate he is said to have left the Earl and his secretary with the remark—"God confound you both for a couple of scoundrels."

33 Livings. The term *living* is technically applied to the ecclesiastical charge committed to a parish clergyman, out of the income attached to which he supports himself. Swift received this appointment in February, 1700.

Laracor, about twenty miles from Dublin Swift held with it (by special dispensation) the livings of Rathbeggan and Agher, the united income amounting to about £244 a year He continued to live at Dublin Castle with the Berkeleys, and in the autumn of 1700 received the prebend of Dunlaven, in St Patrick's Cathedral, with a small addition to his income In February, 1701, he took his Doctor's degree in Dublin University, and in April accompanied Lord Berkeley back to England, returning to Ireland in September

Diocese, the district placed under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of a bishop The name comes from the Greek *di-oikesis* (Latin, *diocesis*), household management, or administration, afterwards applied to the administrative districts into which the later Roman Empire was divided

35 The parochial duty, the duties which the clergyman of the parish is expected to perform, and which at that time were often confined to conducting the regular services on Sundays At best, the duty at Laracor cannot have been very heavy, since Swift reckons his congregation at no more than 15 the mass of the Irish were then, as they are now, Roman Catholics

Parochial is the adjective corresponding to *parish*, which is derived through French from the Greek *par-oikia* (Latin, *parocia*), an ecclesiastical district

37 Decency, in a suitable and seemly manner

39. Stella, the name afterwards given by Swift to Esther Johnson, an inmate of Sir William Temple's house, where she held a somewhat anomalous position Scandal (followed in this case by Thackeray) had it that she was the natural daughter of Temple himself, but there seems to be no sufficient reason for accepting this Her mother seems to have been the widow of a confidential servant, who afterwards married Temple's steward, and acted as companion to Lady Giffard, Temple's sister When Swift first went to Moor Park Stella was seven years old, he had charge of her education, and the child formed an attachment for him which lasted for life She was about twenty when she went to live in Ireland, in 1701 Swift himself (Scott, iv, 275) thus describes her — "She was sickly from her childhood until about the age of fifteen, but then grew into perfect health, and was looked upon as one of the most beautiful, graceful, and agreeable young woman in London, only a little too fat Her hair was blacker than a raven, and every feature of her face in perfection Never was any of her sex born with better gifts of the mind, or who more improved them by reading and conversation"

Page 5 2 Mrs Dingley, Rebecca Dingley, who had lived with Stella in England, and who shared her home in Ireland until death separated them Though she was unmarried, Johnson calls her *Mrs* (i.e., *Mistress*) in accordance with the custom of his time, now *Mrs* is reserved for married women, those unmarried being styled *Miss* She died unmarried in 1743, fifteen years after Stella

4 Opened his bosom To "open one's heart" is a commoner form of the same expression, the meaning in either case is that you admit the persons named to your confidence, and show them the real feelings and thoughts which are concealed from the world in general

6 The parsonage, the residence provided for the *parson*, or clergyman of a parish

10 Poetical essays, attempts at poetry

S. 4.

11 Dissensions, etc (Scott, iii, 193) The full title was "A Discourse of the Contests and Dissensions between the Nobles and the Commons in Athens and Rome, with the Consequences they had upon both those States" This pamphlet was written from the Whig point of view, and under classical names refers to the struggle between the Lords and the House of Commons over the impeachment of the Whig leaders, Lords Somers, Portland, and Halifax The pamphlet was published just before Swift's departure for Ireland in September, 1701 he returned to England in April, 1702, shortly after the King's death In October, 1702, he went back to Ireland until November, 1703

13 Some bishop, Sheridan, bishop of Kilmore in Ireland The authorship of the pamphlet had been attributed by some to Lord Somers himself, by others to Bishop Burnet This passage means that Swift heard Bishop Sheridan attributing the work to Burnet, and ventured to express some doubts, whereupon the bishop ascribed his answer to the positiveness of youth Swift then announced his own authorship, which gained for him the friendship and patronage of the Whigs

14 Burnet Gilbert Burnet, born in Edinburgh in 1643, played a considerable part in Scotch and English politics in the reigns of Charles II and James II, the latter of whom outlived him owing to his intimacy with the Prince of Orange Burnet accompanied the latter on his voyage to England in 1688, and was rewarded for his services with the bishopric of Salisbury, which he governed ably and conscientiously He died in 1715, leaving behind him his most important work, the "History of his own Time," which was published posthumously

16 Persisting to doubt We now usually say "in doubting"

18 The Tale of a Tub, published early in 1704, in May of which year Swift left England for Laracor once more The full title was "A Tale of a Tub, Written for the Universal Improvement of Mankind To which is added An Account of a Battle between the Ancient and Modern Books in St James's Library" A Tale of a Tub was a sort of proverbial expression which had been long in use, but in his Preface Swift ironically refers to a custom of seamen, who, "when they meet a whale, fling him out an empty tub by way of amusement, to divert him from laying violent hands upon the ship" Accordingly he says that he throws out this treatise to divert the "wits" from an attack upon both Church and State, until some better defence can be built up He overwhelms the wits, critics, and inferior authors with ridicule, lays bare all sorts of shams, and through it all conducts a theological allegory dealing with the three brothers Peter, Martin, and Jack, who represent the Roman Catholic, the Anglican, and the Dissenting types of Christianity In the decline of his powers Swift was heard to say, as he looked at a copy of the *Tale*, "Good God, what a genius I had when I wrote that book!"

19 Charity, here put for those who are inclined to judge other men charitably, i.e., to put the most favourable construction possible on their actions

23 Nor very well proved Boswell records (under 1763) a remark of Johnson's expressing a doubt whether the *Tale* was Swift's, "for he never owned it, and it is much above his usual manner" Again, under 1775, "The *Tale of a Tub* is so much superior to his other writings that one can hardly believe he was the author of it there is in it such a vigour of mind, such a swarm of thoughts, so much of nature and art and life" There is, however, no foundation for these doubts as to its authorship, nor do all critics agree that it so far surpasses Swift's other works.

24 Archbishop Sharp John Sharp, Dean of Canterbury, was made Archbishop of York in 1691, and died in 1713

25 Duchess of Somerset. Elizabeth, Baroness Percy, heiress of the 11th Earl of Northumberland, was married at an early age to Lord Ogle, the only son of the Duke of Newcastle After his premature death she married Thomas Thynne, a man of considerable wealth, but the marriage was never consummated, as she almost immediately fled to Holland, where a Count Konigsmark paid her great attention In February, 1681, Thynne was murdered in London, as was supposed at the instigation of Konigsmark, who was tried for the crime, but acquitted Three months later the widow married Charles Seymour, Duke of Somerset She rose into high favour with Anne, but Swift repeatedly reviles her, insinuating that she was guilty of the death of her second husband Thus, in the *Author upon Himself* (Scott, xi, 304) —

“ Now angry Somerset her vengeance vows
On Swift's reproaches for her *murdered* spouse
From her red locks her mouth with venom fills,
And thence into the Royal ear instils ”

The Queen, Anne “I think the bishops who advised Queen Anne, when they counselled her not to appoint the author to a bishopric, gave perfectly good advice The man who wrote the arguments and illustrations in that wild book, could not but be aware what must be the sequel of the propositions which he laid down” (Thackeray) On the other hand, Dr King was informed by Lord Bolingbroke that the Queen herself had assured him that she had never received any unfavourable character of Swift, nor had the Archbishop, or any one else, tried to lessen him in her esteem Swift, however, was firmly convinced that this was the case compare, for instance, the lines at the beginning of *The Author upon Himself*, written in 1713 (Scott, xi, 302) —

“By an old——pursued,
A crazy prelate, and a royal prude,
By dull divines, who look with envious eyes
On every genius that attempts to rise
And pausing o'er a pipe, with doubtful nod,
Give hints that poets ne'er believe in God ”

In arriving at an opinion on the results of Swift's work Leslie Stephen proposes the following test —“Imagine the *Tale of a Tub* to be read by Bishop Butler and by Voltaire Can any one doubt that the believer would be scandalised, and the scoffer find himself in a thoroughly congenial element? Would not any believer shrink from the use of such weapons, even though directed against his enemies? When Swift had ridiculed all the Catholic and all the Puritan dogmas in the most unsparing fashion, could he be sure that the Anglican embodiment of the same theories might not be turned to equal account by the scoffer?”

28 Sacheverell Henry Sacheverell (1674-1724) became famous by two sermons preached in 1709 on the neglect of the interests of the Church by the Whig Government For these Sacheverell was tried and punished, but he immediately became a martyr in the eyes of those with whom the Government was unpopular, and the sentence contributed in no small degree to the downfall of the Whigs By the Tories he was given a valuable living in London

Smalridge, George Smalridge (1663-1719), a theologian of moderate views, made the Bishop of Bristol in 1714.

32 Wotton William Wotton (1666 1726) was an " infant prodigy," who went to Cambridge when less than ten, and took his degree at the age of twelve and a half He is now remembered chiefly for the part which he took in the Battle of the Books, on the side opposed to Temple, to whom he replied in his *Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning* (1694)

Bentley Richard Bentley (1662-1742), one of the most celebrated of English scholars and critics, took his degree at Cambridge in 1680, and subsequently became chaplain and librarian to William III From 1700 to the end of his life he was Master of Trinity College, Cambridge He edited many of the classical authors, and endeavoured to apply the same methods to the text of Milton, with disastrous results

33 Discover, disclose, reveal

34 The two controversies, as to the authenticity of the Fables of Æsop, and the Epistles of Phalaris The general controversy about the Ancients and Moderns had got complicated with these two special questions, on which Bentley undoubtedly gained a complete triumph over Temple, Boyle, and their supporters

35 Wit can stand, etc , witty ridicule like that of Swift may pervert or disguise the truth for a time, but truth is bound to prevail in the end, if not in a writer's own time, yet in the judgment of posterity

The digressions introduced by Swift are chiefly aimed at literary "shams," and by way of carrying on the dispute (referred to in the next note) with Bentley and Wotton, he parodies the latter's remarks upon the Ancients, but the references to these authors by name are not many in the *Tale of a Tub* itself Swift jeers at them in the *Dedication to Prince Posterity* (Scott, x , 47-48) in section v , he congratulates Wotton on his "incomparable Treatise, a book never to be sufficiently valued, whether we consider the happy turns and flowings of the author's wit, the great usefulness of his sublime discoveries upon the subject of flies and spittle, or the laborious eloquence of his style" (Scott, x , 122) and there are further references to Wotton and Bentley in sections ix and x (Scott, x , 155, 167) As to the actual merits of the controversy Swift probably knew little, and cared less "He expresses his contempt with characteristic vigour and coarseness, and our pleasure in his display of exuberant satirical power is not injured by his obvious misconception of the merits of the case" (Stephen)

38 The Battle of the Books The self-satisfied writers of France in the age of Louis XIV had started a theory that the products of that age and nation surpassed all previous ones, and that the great names of preceding times enjoyed a reputation which was sadly over-rated This doctrine subsequently incurred much ridicule, and led to fierce controversy in France as to the relative merits of the Ancients and Moderns, a controversy which was introduced into England by Sir William Temple He upheld the claims of the Ancients, and was supported by Boyle, Smalridge, and others, whilst on the other side of the controversy (which by this time had become complicated with other issues) appeared Bentley and Wotton Temple had got decidedly the worst of the encounter, when Swift came to his aid with his *Battle of the Books*, originally written as we have seen in 1697, which describes in the Homeric style a battle between the ancient and modern authors The coincidence between this work and what he calls the *Combat des Livres* (the same title in French) seems to Johnson too great to be the result of chance This insinuation originated with Wotton, who remarks "I have been assured that the Battle in St. James's Library is

mutatis mutandis taken out of a French book, entitled *Combat des Livres*, if I misremember not." In a later edition Swift repudiates this charge with great warmth — "Let the answerer and his friend produce any book they please, he defies them to show one single particular where the judicious reader will affirm he has been obliged for the smallest hint." The fact is that there is no such book as a *Combat des Livres*, though there is one called "A Poetical History of the War newly declared between the Ancients and the Moderns," by Francois de Callières, published in 1688. Craik accepts Swift's assertion of his total ignorance of any such work, but at the same time thinks that the trifling points of coincidence make it probable that the book had passed under Swift's notice in Temple's house, along with a crowd of forgotten authorities. Leslie Stephen thinks that "the resemblance does not justify Scott and Johnson in regarding it as more than a natural coincidence. Every detail is different."

Page 6 6 How often, etc. The *Tale* appeared in April or May, 1704, and immediately afterwards Swift returned to Ireland, remaining there until April, 1705. During the following summer and autumn he was in London, but the whole of 1706 and the greater part of 1707 were spent in Ireland. From November, 1707, to June, 1709, he was again in England.

9 The Sentiments, etc. (Scott, viii, 239) "The Sentiments of a Church of England Man with respect to Religion and Government" was really the third of the pamphlets published this year, and in it Craik finds "a judicial air scarcely to be paralleled in any other of Swift's works." Declining to discuss the truth or falsehood of any particular religion in itself, he supports the maintenance of a State religion merely on grounds of public expediency. From this point of view, unless the public creed is such as to exclude dissent, it ceases to have any justification, whilst tolerating dissenters therefore, Swift would not admit them to an equality with those who belong to the State-Church. As to politics, he defends the theory of the Revolution of 1688, yet there are indications that he was already finding that the despotism of the monarch was being replaced by that of the oligarchical faction of the Whigs, so that his sympathies were being gradually drawn towards the Tories.

10 Bickerstaff. Under the name of "Isaac Bickerstaff" Swift wrote three pamphlets in ridicule of the astrological almanacs and predictions which were issued by several pretended masters of that science, and especially by one Partridge, a shoemaker. The pamphlets were entitled "Predictions for the Year 1708," "The Accomplishment of the First of Mr Bickerstaff's Predictions, being an Account of the Death of Mr Partridge," and "a Viudication of Bickerstaff against what is objected to him by Mr Partridge in his Almanac for the year 1709." By Partridge himself and many others these writings were taken as being serious, and so other pamphlets were contributed to the controversy in defence of Partridge. see Scott, viii, 437-472. The Inquisition in Portugal ordered Bickerstaff's book to be burnt, whilst the Stationers' Hall in London struck Partridge's name off their roll, in the belief that he was really dead.

11 Argument, etc., "An Argument to prove that the Abolishing of Christianity in England may, as things now stand, be attended with some inconveniences, and perhaps not produce those many good effects proposed thereby" (Scott, viii, 61). This Craik calls "a masterpiece of Swift's own peculiar humour, the sweep of its irony is as strong, as unrelenting, as unvarying as that of a whirlwind." "Whatever," concludes Swift, "some may think of the advantages to trade by this favourite scheme [abolishing Christianity], I do very much apprehend that in six months'

time after the Act is passed for the extirpation of the Gospel, the Bank and East India Stock may fall at least one per cent "

12 Sacramental Test, "A Letter from a Member of the House of Commons in Ireland to a Member of the House of Commons in England, concerning the Sacramental Test" (Scott, viii, 339) In 1673 a Test Act was passed, compelling every one who held any office under Government to receive the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England This, of course, applied to Protestant Dissenters as well as to Roman Catholics, but there were a certain number of William's advisers who were willing to repeal it as far as Protestants were concerned, and especially in Ireland where the Presbyterians had done such good service for them against James II Accordingly, about 1708, the Whig ministry seem to have seriously decided upon taking this step in Ireland, but the Irish clergy, led by Swift, made the most determined opposition, and the Bill for the Repeal of the Test Act was thrown out The Dissenters renewed their efforts from time to time, so that Swift wrote more than once upon the subject The Test Act became little more than a form after 1727, but was not repealed until 1828

15 Happy, successful and well-managed The passage which follows will be found in Scott, viii, 73-4

19 So calculated whereon, etc, so well adapted to enable them to display their abilities in dealing with it

22 Railery, mockery, sarcasm, from the French verb *railler*, to mock at

26 Topic, subject for discussion The word is really a Greek adjective derived from *topos*, a place, afterwards applied to a *commonplace*, i. e., a regular subject of argument Hence books which treated of such subjects, and the way to deal with them, were called *Topica*, or *Topics*

Suspected for, suspected him of being

27 Asgill John Asgill (1659-1738) was a barrister, who obtained a seat, first in the Irish parliament, and then in the English House of Commons but was expelled from the former in 1703, and from the latter in 1707, on account of a pamphlet published in 1699, in which he argued that death was not obligatory upon Christians, and which was held to be blasphemous How far it was serious or only satirical seems to be doubtful, according to Leslie Stephen "it interprets the relations between God and man by the technical rules of English law" Coleridge, at any rate, expresses great admiration for the work, alleging that the irony is often finer than Swift's

Toland, John Toland (1670-1722), generally regarded as one of the principal leaders of the English deists though the book which first made him prominent, *Christianity not Mysteriorious* (1696), is decidedly opposed to deism

30 Tindal Matthew Tindal (1656-1733) was one of the ablest of the English deists, his work "Christianity as Old as the Creation" (1730) being regarded as their "Bible" He strongly upheld the supremacy of the State over the Church

36 Allowed, admitted, acknowledged

38 Steele Richard Steele (1672-1729), the friend of Addison, was one of the most prominent men of letters in the Age of Anne He served in the army for a time, publishing his first prose work, *The*

Christian Hero, in 1701 From 1709-1711 he edited the *Taller*, which appeared three times a week, and to which Addison also contributed a number of essays Subsequently the two friends produced the *Spectator* and then the *Guardian* In politics Steele was a Whig, and lost his post of "Gazetteer" when the Tories came into power in 1710 With the accession of George I, his fortune changed he received several appointments and was knighted

39 An appellation, that of Isaac Bickerstaff, under which name he often wrote in the *Taller* Swift's contributions to this paper belong to the years 1709-1711, and are given in Scott, ix

Page 7 i. Project, etc, "A Project for the Advancement of Religion, and Reformation of Manners, by a Person of Quality" (Scott, viii, 78) Of this Craik says—"For the first time Swift is, so far as we can tell, didactic and nothing else, but his didactic manner is unique Virtue according to his proposal is to be propped up by religion, and both are to be ensured by a sort of habit, by a forced obedience to convention" Swift recommends the reformation of the stage, the exclusion of openly vicious characters from the Court, a better selection of Justices of the Peace, greater exertions on the part of the clergy, and stricter discipline in schools and colleges

2 Lady Berkeley, the wife of the Earl who had taken Swift to Ireland as his secretary (See also note to page 15, line 24)

3 Benefices This word comes from the Latin *beneficium*, which meant originally a kindness, and then (in Low Latin) a grant of land Subsequently it was narrowed down to an ecclesiastical use, and now means a church endowed with funds for the maintenance of divine service, or what is commonly called "a living" (See note to page 4, line 33)

5 Spriteliness, or sprightliness, liveliness, vivacity *sprite* being the same as *spright* or *spirit*

9 Vindication, etc See note to page 6, line 10

10 Ancient Prophecy This refers to the "famous Prediction of Merlin relating to the Year 1709," which professed to be a copy of a black-letter manuscript written by Merlin, the famous wizard of the time of King Arthur Scott, viii, 480

13 Soon after began, etc The subsequent notes will show that Swift had already been at work in this important matter for some years: Johnson only alludes to its later stages On April 24, 1710, Swift's mother (whom he had always visited during his residences in England) died at Leicester: in September he returned to England once more, to find the Whig Government overthrown

14 Primate, a name applied to the chief of the bishops or archbishops in a given country in the case of Ireland, the Archbishop of Armagh was the Primate At that time the office was held by Dr Narcissus Marsh

15 First-Fruits, a name applied to the income received from an ecclesiastical benefice during the first year that it is held This had been claimed by the Pope, but was appropriated by Henry VIII for the use of the Crown In 1704 the first-fruits were restored by Anne to the Church, and a corporation called "the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty" established to apply the money to increase the value of poor livings But this only applied to England, and Swift suggested (in 1704) to Archbishop

King of Dublin that it might be possible to obtain the same favour for the clergy of Ireland, where most of the livings were very small. In 1707 he received a commission from the Archbishop to fight for this concession, which he failed after all to wring from the Whigs, but at last secured from the Tories in November, 1710, he was able to announce that Harley had informed him of the grant, and in the following July the official papers were received in Ireland.

Twentieth Parts In a *Memorial to Mr Harley* (Scott, xv, 362) Swift describes the twentieth parts as "twelve pence in the pound paid annually out of all ecclesiastical benefices, as they were valued at the Reformation. They amount to about £500 *per annum*, but are of little or no value to the Queen, after the officers and other charges are paid, though of much trouble and vexation to the clergy. The first-fruits paid by incumbents upon their promotion amount to £450 *per annum*, so that her Majesty, in remitting about £1,000 to the clergy, will really lose not above £500."

16 Harley Robert Harley, first Earl of Oxford (1661-1724), entered Parliament as a Whig in 1680, and was Speaker of the House of Commons from 1701 to 1705. In 1704 he was also made a Secretary of State. In 1708 he was compelled to resign, but in 1710 he overturned the Whig government, became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and formed a Tory ministry. In 1711 he was raised to the House of Lords as Earl of Oxford, but subsequently quarrelled with Bolingbroke and was dismissed from office in 1714. Almost immediately afterwards Anne died, and Bolingbroke fled from England, but Harley remained and was impeached by the Whigs. After two years' imprisonment his impeachment was dismissed, but he rarely attended the House of Lords subsequently. His fine collection of books and manuscripts was purchased by the British Museum.

20 Exclusion, etc In January, 1708, the Bishopric of Waterford was vacant, and Swift believed that his claims had been strongly pressed on the Government by Lord Somers himself. Again in 1709 the Bishop of Cork was very ill, and Swift did his utmost to secure a promise of the appointment; however, in the end the Bishop lived until 1716. But this was not the only ground of complaint Swift had against the Whigs. He had been given to understand that his request for the First-fruits had been granted, only to discover (in March, 1709) that he had been befooled by the ministry. He left London for Ireland in a great state of indignation in May, and on the back of a letter which he subsequently received from Lord Halifax he wrote—"I kept this letter as a true original of courtiers and Court promises."

The turning point in Swift's career of which Johnson is speaking in this paragraph is thus described in the *Journal to Stella*, October 4, 1710—"After I had put out my candle last night, my landlady came into my room, with a servant of Lord Halifax, to desire I would go dine with him at his house near Hampton Court, but I sent him word I had business of great importance that hindered me, &c. And to-day I was brought privately to Mr Harley, who received me with the greatest respect and kindness imaginable: he has appointed me an hour, when I will open my business to him."

21 Sharp, the Archbishop of York referred to on page 5. The quotations are from Swift's piece called *The Author upon Himself* (Scott, xii., 304) —

"York is from Lambeth sent, to shew the queen
A dangerous treatise writ against the spleen,
Which by the style, the matter, and the drift,
'Tis thought could be the work of none but Swift.
Poor York! the harmless tool of others' hate,
He sues for pardon, and repents too late "

The explanation of the last line is apparently to be found in the *Journal to Stella*, where Swift records that, on his appointment as Dean of St Patrick's, the Archbishop of York, his "mortal enemy," sent word that he would be glad to see him (April 23, 1713) On April 26 he notes, "The Archbishop of York says he will never speak against me "

26 To confidence, to a knowledge of his secrets To one secret Swift was certainly never admitted, either by Harley or by Bolingbroke, and that was the knowledge of their treasonable communications with the Pretender (the son of James II)

32 The sixteen Ministers, etc This refers to the so-called "Brothers' Club, founded in June, 1711, and "intended to advance conversation and friendship, and to obtain patronage for deserving persons It was to include none but wits and men able to help wits . . . It included St John and several leading Ministers, Harley's son and son-in-law, and Harcourt's son, whilst literature was represented by Swift, Arbuthnot, Prior, and Friend, all of whom were more or less actively employed by the ministry The club was therefore composed of the ministry and their dependents, though it had not avowedly a political colouring. It dined on Thursday during the parliamentary session" (Stephen) They dined at taverns and coffee-houses, and Swift soon began to complain of the cost, and to become irregular in his attendance

35 Obdurate, stubborn, obstinate the Latin *obduratus*, literally, hardened

36 Yet, still.

37 Confesses, etc In the Preface to the octavo edition of the *Tatler*, 1710, Steele wrote —" I have, in the dedication of the first volume, made my acknowledgments to Dr Swift, whose pleasant writings in the name of Bickerstaff created an inclination in the town towards anything that could appear in the same disguise I must acknowledge also that at my first entering upon this work a certain uncommon way of thinking, and a turn in conversation peculiar to that agreeable gentleman, rendered his company very advantageous to one whose imagination was to be continually employed upon obvious and common subjects, though at the same time obliged to treat of them in a new and unbeaten method "

39 Immerging, plunging into, a rare word, used transitively by Johnson in the *Life of Milton* (page 49) —" The probable and the marvellous, two parts of a vulgar epic poem which immerge the critic in deep consideration "

40 The Examiner This was a weekly Tory paper which first appeared in August 1710, Swift was responsible for the numbers which appeared between November 2, 1710, and June 7, 1711, after which he took a less prominent part in it "No literary defence of an administration," says Craik, "was ever more admirably devised Swift was then at the height of his power, all his energies were roused to the task, and he brought to it every stimulus that personal irritation could suggest To say that he distanced all his competitors is only half the truth He took a totally different range." Swift's numbers are printed in Scott, iii

Page 8 6 Addison, Joseph[†] Addison (1672-1719), the well-known essayist Johnson seems to have thought that Addison's *Whig Examiner* (of which only five numbers appeared) was intended to oppose Swift, but this is an error, for it ceased to appear after October 12, 1710, whilst Swift did not take up the other until November

9 Earl of Oxford. Harley had been raised to this rank in May, 1711 In the spring of the following year Swift published the Tract referred to here, apparently the only piece to which he ever attached his name In it he tried to enlist Harley's interest in a literary project which Craik calls "bold enough, but strangely out of sympathy, not only with the genius of our language, but more than all with the terse idiom of Swift, moulded as that was by the very impress of his character He proposed the foundation of an Academy under the protection of the Queen and the ministers, which should take under its charge the regulation of the English tongue. The hint was of course taken from the French Academy, and from the style which had grown up under the patronage of Louis XIV There was thus much of literary foresight in it, that Swift discerned the real lack in our literature which it was to be the business of his own contemporaries to supply He conceived of it in a narrow way, he mistook the means by which it was to be accomplished But he saw that literary effort, with no more solid guidance than the English taste prevailing in his own earlier years, would certainly end in hopeless confusion " For the pamphlet, see Scott, ix, 133

13 An academy, on the model of the French Academy, which consists of forty men, eminent in various branches of literature They are supposed to have the French language in their charge, and have produced a great dictionary in which all authorised forms and usages are set forth When a member dies his successor is elected by the remaining members

17 Letter, etc "Some Advice humbly offered to the Members of the October Club, in a Letter from a Person of Honour" (Scott, iv, 79) This was published at the beginning of 1712 The October Club consisted of extreme Tories, who were dissatisfied with the Ministry for too great moderation in dealing with the fallen Whigs It was Swift's object to defend this moderation, and to keep the extreme Tories from embarrassing the Government

24 Dismissal We now use the form *dismissal*

27 Harley was slow, etc Swift calls him "the greatest minister he ever knew," on which Craik remarks that "Harley had an unquestionable skill in the lesser arts of statesmanship, he had some tact in parliamentary management, he had a certain keenness of appreciation for national necessities All these many of his contemporaries probably rated too low, but, with an estimate much more certainly wrong, his apathy was mistaken by Swift for philosophy, his hesitation for calculating wisdom "

32 Desperate, beyond hope

33 The two expectants, namely, the Protestant George, Elector of Hanover, and the Catholic James Stuart (the "Old Pretender"), son of James II The claims of the former were supported by the Whigs, whilst Bolingbroke and other Tories were intriguing for a restoration of the Stuarts.

35 Double-dealer, one who behaves in a treacherous or insincere manner

Page 9. 2. Was content, etc. His critics attributed his dilatoriness to his natural disposition, and he allowed them to say so, though he himself considered his conduct not dilatory but politic and statesmanlike.

4 As they were not, etc This explains the course followed by Swift in his writings at this time The support of the Tories was necessary, at the same time "their eagerness" for the utter overthrow of the Whigs "was not gratified by the Queen or Harley" They were discontented therefore, and it was necessary for Swift to try to appease their discontent, and to find plausible excuses for Harley's conduct, even if the latter could not be *vindicated*, i e, shown to be undoubtedly right

8. Zenith, the greatest height, properly an astronomical term (derived from Arabic) for the point of the heavens directly over the observer's head.

9 Conduct of the Allies "The Conduct of the Allies, and of the late Ministry, in beginning and carrying on the present War" (Scott, iv, 291) This pamphlet was published on November 27, 1711, and is said to have run through four editions in a week "It was in the mouths of men, it changed the aspect of the party struggle it became a storehouse of arguments, it was quoted in the Parliamentary debates" (Craik)

13 Looked with idolatry on, they worshipped him almost as if he had been a god *The General*, the Duke of Marlborough

14 Arbitress, the feminine form of *arbiter*, a judge or umpire

16. Secure, to render them secure from the aggression of France and Spain This prolonged war had been largely due to the efforts of William III, King of England, and Stadtholder of Holland, to crush the power of Louis XIV

Aggrandize, render greater The word contains the Latin adjective *grandis*, great

17 The Emperor At that time there was only one empire in Europe, viz, the German. The German emperors regarded themselves as the successors of the Cæsars and of Charlemagne, who received the imperial crown as "emperor of the Romans" from the Pope in 800 A D Latterly the emperor was elected by eight or nine of the German princes, and the title usually fell to the sovereign of Austria, that being the most powerful of the German states In 1721 Peter the Great assumed the title of Emperor of Russia, in 1804 Napoleon that of Emperor of the French, so that there were then three emperors In 1806 the German emperor Francis II exchanged his title for that of Emperor of Austria, and the older dignity remained in abeyance until 1871, when King William of Prussia was proclaimed German emperor, though the title no longer carries with it the old association with Rome

24 Has since written, in the *Memoirs relating to the Change in the Queen's Ministry in 1710* (Scott, iii, 172) — "The Duke of Marlborough, whether by a motive of ambition, or a love of money, or by the rash counsels of his wife the Duchess, made that bold attempt of desiring the Queen to give him a commission to be General for life Her Majesty's answer was 'That she would take time to consider it,' and in the meanwhile the Duke advised with the Lord Cowper, then Chancellor, about the form in which the commission should be drawn The Chancellor, very much to his honour, endeavoured to dissuade the Duke from engaging in so dangerous an affair, and protested he would never put the great seal to such a commission" This occurred in 1709

25 Drawn, drawn up, duly prepared

26 Resolution, resolute conduct

27 Lord Cowper, William Cowper, a Whig lawyer and member of the House of Commons, who was made Lord Keeper in 1705, and in 1707 the first Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain (Scotland having just been united to England) When the Whig Ministry fell in 1710, both Harley and the Queen were anxious that Cowper should remain in office, but he refused On the accession of George I, he was re-appointed Lord Chancellor, but resigned in 1716 after being created Earl Cowper He died in 1723

28 The schools, i e, the "scholastic" philosophy taught in the monastic schools of the Middle Ages and founded upon Aristotle and his commentators The maxim quoted ("quidquid recipitur, recipitur ad modum recipientis") means that the change produced by any cause does not depend wholly on the agent, but partly also on the nature of the patient, or thing acted upon if the condition of this "recipient" is changed, it will "receive" the action of the agent in a different way

40 With very little assistance, etc On the other hand, Craik speaks of "the marvellous skill" with which the materials are handled "Swift writes under the impulse of one strong mood of indignation, which has no time to vary or calm down, and it is his special strength to infect his hearers with the same heat of anger It would have been comparatively easy to rouse an energetic impulse to war, it required far more art to rouse that energy to the making of peace" Johnson, however, never seems to have thought much of the pamphlet Boswell records an occasion in 1763, when Johnson replied to some one who had praised the *Conduct of the Allies*—"Sir, it is a performance of very little ability Swift has told what he had to tell distinctly enough, but that is all He had to count ten, and he has counted it right"

Page 10 1 Barrier Treaty This treaty between Great Britain and Holland was concluded in October, 1709, and provided that a number of towns captured in the Spanish Netherlands by the allied forces should be handed over to the Dutch, who were to garrison them as a *barrier* for the protection of their own territory Swift's *Remarks* on the subject are given in Scott, iv, 372

6 Bishop of Sarum This was Burnet (see note to page 5, line 14) He published his Introduction as a separate pamphlet, attacking the Tories as the friends of Popery Swift says of him elsewhere that "in his last ten years he was absolutely party-mad and fancied he saw popery under every bush" The work referred to here by Johnson was called "A Preface to the Bishop of Sarum's Introduction, &c, by Gregory Misosarum," i e, Sarum-hater (Scott, iv, 141) *Sarum* is now more commonly called Salisbury Old Sarum was on the side of the downs overlooking a wide plain, but it was gradually deserted in favour of a New Sarum (now Salisbury), which grew up round a cathedral built on the plain in the 13th century Officially, however, Sarum remained the title of the bishops' see

12 Confidant, one in whom they confided, to whom they entrusted their secrets

23 In their places, in the offices which they had held when their own party was in power Compare Swift's Preface to his *History of the Four Last Years of the Queen* (Scott, v, 15)—"I preserved several of the oppo-

site party in their employments, who were persons of wit and learning, particularly Mr Addison and Mr Congreve, neither of whom were ever in any danger from the Treasurer, who much esteemed them both. Mr Steele might have been safe enough, if his continually repeated indiscretions, and a zeal mingled with scurrilities, had not forfeited all title to lenity. Addison, on the other hand, asserted that he had lost appointments worth £2,000 a year by the change of ministry he had been Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (Wharton), and held other small offices. Congreve was Secretary for Jamaica, besides holding posts in the Customs and elsewhere, of the value of at least £1,200 a year. Steele was "gazetteer," *i e*, had charge of the publication of the official *Gazette*.

27. Lewis, or rather Louis, the Fourteenth, the most powerful of the French Kings, and the bitter enemy of William III, born, 1638, succeeded to the throne, 1643, began to govern in person, 1661, died, 1715. The saying quoted here is given by Voltaire in his *Age of Louis XIV*, chapter xxvi.

29. Much has been said, etc. Extraordinary tales are told of the kind of fascination which Swift exercised over all with whom he came in contact, and of the liberties which he sometimes took with his social superiors. On one occasion he sent the Lord Treasurer (Harley) to fetch the principal Secretary of State (St John) out of the House of Commons, in order that Swift might inform him with his own lips "that if he dines late I shall not dine with him." Harley and St John, in fact, seem to have treated him more as a brother than any thing else. With reference to persons of rank in general he wrote to Stella—"I use them like dogs, because I expect they will use me so."

32. Tenour, now usually spelt, *tenor*, the general course or character of conduct, speech, etc. The "few incidents" attract attention precisely because they are contrary to the general course, it is implied that, though Swift might be sometimes frank or familiar, the general tenor of his conduct was the reverse.

34. By Suffering, etc. If he thinks it a grand thing to take liberties in their presence, he practically admits that they are much above him, and so is really paying them a "servile tribute." Whilst admitting that Swift betrayed a certain amount of vulgarity in his intercourse with men of high position, Stephen denies that he was guilty of real servility. "He forced himself upon ministers by self-assertion, and he held them in awe of him as the lion-tamer keeps down the latent ferocity of the wild beast. He never takes his eye off his subjects, nor lowers his imperious demeanour. Masterfulness, in fact, was his dominant characteristic, and the consciousness of his real superiority to most of those with whom he had to do led to an exaggerated self-assertiveness, which must at times have been sufficiently offensive. That Swift had a lovable side is shown by the affection of Stella and Vanessa, of Addison, Pope, Arbuthnot, Sheridan, and many another."

37. Pass the interval, to disregard the "distance" which separates their respective position in society, and to behave as if he also belonged to the superior rank.

38. Obtrusion, thrusting oneself forward into positions to which one has not been invited.

39. Pride of importance, the pride which arises from a feeling of one's own importance, and which may lead a man to take liberties with those to whom he thinks his services are valuable. At other times he may feel his

social inferiority to them, and so out of malice be led to cause them inconvenience if possible

Page 11 6 Strain, sort, kind.

9 Friends of Power, the friends of those who have power to dispose of the benefices

11 Deanery of St Patrick, i.e., he was made Dean of St Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin (St. Patrick being the patron saint of Ireland) It was on April 23rd, 1713, (that, after considerable delay and vacillation, Swift received this appointment, worth about £700 a year He was installed in the cathedral on June 13th, after which he returned to England

15 Installed literally means "placed in his stall," or official seat in the cathedral

In an English cathedral The post that Swift had desired was the Deanery of Wells, but in his journal of March 21st, 1712, he tells Stella that there was no prospect of his getting it

16 Fifty pounds He alludes to this offer of a bank-note in the *Journal to Stella*, under February 7 and March 7, 1711, saying that Harley "did something which he intended for a favour, and I have taken it quite otherwise disliking both the thing and the manner, and it has heartily vexed me" In the preface to his *Four Last Years of the Queen* (Scott, v, 15), Swift says—"I never received one shilling from the minister, or any other present except that of a few books, nor did I want their assistance to support me"

17 Draught, an order for the payment of money. (In this sense the word is now always spelt *draft*) This money was intended chiefly to meet the expenses of Swift's installation at St Patrick's he had to give the out-going dean £800 for the house, besides paying £150 for "first-fruits," and other considerable sums

Exchequer, the Treasury, or department which has charge of the national revenues The name arose from the old practice of making up accounts by means of counters on a *chequered* cloth, i.e., one marked with squares like a chessboard

19 As he says himself Mr Ryland remarks that he has hunted in vain through Swift's correspondence for this expression In a letter to Dr Sheridan, dated July 8, 1726 (Scott, xvii 37), Swift writes—"Tell him that I never asked for my £1,000, though I mentioned it to the princess the last time I saw her, but I bid her tell Walpole I scorned to ask him for it" On this Scott notes that Swift alludes to the same matter again in a letter to Pope, October 30, 1727, where he says, "I forgive Sir R Walpole a thousand pounds, *multa gemens*" Yet in the letter of that date printed by Scott no such expression occurs

20 A journal This was afterwards published under the name of the *Journal to Stella*, though at the time it was written that name had not been invented The letters date from September, 1710, to June, 1713

24 Diurnal (really the same word as *journal*), daily, the Latin *diurnus*, from *dies* a day

30 Hardly complain Even if he finds nothing of particular importance, still the search will not fatigue him, and so he has no reason for complaint

36 Bolingbroke, Henry St John (1678-1751), created Viscount Bolingbroke for his services to the Tory party during the reign of Anne. Towards the close of the reign he began to intrigue for the restoration of the Stuarts, but the Whigs succeeded in proclaiming George I, and Bolingbroke fled to France (1714). His sentence of banishment was revoked 1723, but he never recovered his old position in England.

Page 12 1. Feud, a quarrel, especially an inveterate one between families or parties

Swift's efforts to reconcile the two ministers are detailed by him in his *Enquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's last Ministry* (Scott, v 296), and in a letter to the second Lord Oxford, June 14th, 1737 (Scott, xix, 72). The last interview took place in May, 1714; "I spoke very freely to them both," says Swift, "and told them I would retire, for I found all was gone. Lord Bolingbroke whispered me I was in the right. Your father said all would do well. I told him that I would go on Monday, since I found it was impossible to be of any use."

5 The Public Spirit, etc. Steele had published his pamphlet *The Crisis* on the 19th of January, 1714. In it he tried to arouse the nation to the dangers now threatening the principles of the Revolution. "It was ponderous, ill-conceived and unreadable; but such as it was, the Whigs caught it up eagerly. Steele was answered in a style of the fiercest scorn by Swift" (Craik). The latter's pamphlet appeared in March, its full title being "The Public Spirit of the Whigs set forth in their Generous Encouragement of the Author of the *Crisis*, with some Observations on the Seasonableness, Candour, Erudition, and Style of that Treatise" (Scott, iv, 215).

Parliament met on February 16, and Steele, "with his usual and characteristic tactlessness, kindled into fury the ill-will that was already slumbering against him for his *Crisis*." He offended even his own party, the result being that the pamphlet was condemned by the House of Commons, and Steele himself was expelled from the House, to which he had just been elected for the first time.

8. So far alienated. As stated by Johnson in a previous passage Swift and Steele had at one time been close friends. When the former went over to the Tories, the two friends began to draw apart, but Swift continued to use his influence with the Ministry in favour of Steele, and prevented his dismissal from his post. In May, 1713, however, after Swift had been nominated Dean and his connection with the *Examiner* had ceased, Steele made a spiteful attack on him as if he were still responsible for the conduct of that paper. Swift wrote to Addison, disclaiming all responsibility, and accusing Steele of base ingratitude in making such a charge. Addison handed the letter to Steele, who maintained his charge, treating Swift's disclaimer as an Irish trick, and sneering at his recent promotion. Swift, therefore, had a good deal of justification for the attack he now made on Steele.

9 Decency, seemly and becoming treatment, such as is usual between one gentleman and another even when engaged in controversy.

12 Not to be offended, etc. This alludes to the national Scotch emblem of a thistle, with the motto *Nemo me impune lacessit*, No one offends me with impunity.

14. A proclamation, etc. This was only a trick on the part of Lord Oxford. Unwilling to alienate the Scotch nobles, he pretended to know nothing of the author of the pamphlet, and allowed its printer and publi-

sher to be prosecuted, at the same time secretly sending Swift £100 to be given to them to compensate them for their trouble. This is known from a letter preserved amongst Swift's correspondence, and endorsed "Lord Treasurer Oxford's letter to me in a counterfeit hand, when the printers were prosecuted by the House of Lords for a pamphlet Letter with bill of £100 Received March 14th, 1717" (Scott, xvi, 100)

The passage which follows refers to Swift's *Author upon Himself*, (Scott, xii, 304) —

"The queen incensed, his services forgot,
Leaves him a victim to the vengeful Scot
Now through the realm a proclamation spread,
To fix a price on his devoted head
While innocent, he scorns ignoble flight,
His watchful friends preserve him by a sleight
By Harley's favour once again he shines,
Is now caressed by candidate divines,
Who change opinions with the changing scene
Lord! how were they mistaken in the dean,
Now Delawar again familiar grows,
And in Swift's ear thrusts half his powdered nose
The Scottish nation whom he durst offend,
Again apply that Swift would be their friend "

16 Sleight, a skilful or cunning trick, often applied to the tricks of a conjuror, many of which are performed by *sleight of hand*, *i. e.*, with a quickness of movement which deceives the eye

22 Aislabie John Aislabie (1670-1742) entered Parliament in 1695, and became Treasurer of the Navy in 1714, a Privy councillor in 1717, and Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1718. In 1721 the bursting of the "South Sea Bubble" led to his resignation. He was then pronounced (by the Commons) guilty of "most notorious, dangerous, and infamous corruption," and was committed to the Tower. On his release he retired into private life

Walpole, Sir Robert Walpole (1676-1745), one of the most famous of English statesmen. He was first appointed to high office (Secretary-at-War) in 1708, and governed the country as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1715-1717, and 1721-1742. He was created Earl of Orford in 1742, and died in 1745. Walpole was a firm believer in the doctrine that "every man has his price," and carried it out systematically into practice

23 Great friends The adjective refers not, as usual, to the closeness of the friendship, but to the high rank of his friends

26 A friend, Mr Gery, vicar of Letcombe in Berkshire. Here Swift remained for two months and a half, after which he retired to Ireland

27 Free Thoughts, etc (Scott, v, 228) Its publication was delayed by the advice of Bolingbroke

30 Death of the Queen On July the 27th Oxford and Bolingbroke had had a conference with the Queen, which ended in Oxford's being called upon to resign. But Anne was much shaken by the stormy scene in her weak state of health, and two days later fatal symptoms appeared. The Queen lay in an almost unconscious condition until the morning of August the 1st, when the end came. In the meanwhile Bolingbroke

had found himself unable to carry out any of his Jacobite schemes, the Whigs lost no time in proclaiming George I, and on August 4th Marlborough was welcomed by a crowd which hooted the Tory leaders. Before long Oxford was thrown into the Tower, and Bolingbroke fled to France.

34. Lord Orrery. See note to page 3, line 20.

35 Dr. Delany, the Reverend Patrick Delany (about 1685-1768), Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and a popular preacher, who became very intimate with Swift, and was one of the executors of the Dean's will. Delany held a number of appointments in Ireland of various kinds, and married a wealthy wife, but he was (according to Swift) one of the very few men not spoiled by an access of fortune. His *Observations upon Lord Orrery's Remarks upon the Life and Writings of Dr Swift* were published in 1754.

Page 13 4 His jurisdiction *re*, Swift's jurisdiction as Dean; as such he was responsible for the administration of the property belonging to the cathedral, as well as for the building itself and what went on there. He was at first, however, involved in serious disputes with the "chapter," or other clergy of the cathedral, and they were supported by the Archbishop, William King. The latter had been Dean of St Patrick's (1688), and Bishop of Derry (1691), before being raised to the higher office in 1702. He died in 1729.

Swift thus describes his mode of life at this time, in a letter to Pope, June 28, 1715 (Scott, xvi, 226) — "I live in the corner of a vast unfurnished house, my family consists of a steward, a groom, a helper in the stable, a footman, and an old maid, who are all at board-wages, and when I do not dine abroad, or make an entertainment (which last is very rare), I eat a mutton-pie, and drink half a pint of wine. my amusements are defending my small dominions against the Archbishop, and endeavouring to reduce my rebellious choir."

10 Historical attempts, namely, "Memoirs relating to the Change in Queen Anne's Ministry in 1710," and "An Enquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's Last Ministry" (Scott, ii, 161 v., 260).

12 History, etc (Scott, v, 3) This appears to have been written in 1712, when Swift was staying at Windsor. In 1737 he took steps to have it published, but changed his intention owing to the great objections raised by Bolingbroke, Oxford (son of Swift's patron), and the Mr Lewis mentioned below. In 1758 a work which professed to be the same was published by Dr Lucas, into whose hands a copy of the MS had fallen. It was accepted at the time as genuine, even by Johnson himself (in the *Idler* of July 14, 1759), and it was not until twenty years later that he raised the first doubt about the book in the passage before us. The doubt was revived by Lord Stanhope and by Macaulay, but there is strong evidence for its authenticity, which is summed up by Craik in an appendix to his work.

13 Laboured, an old-fashioned use of the word, meaning that he devoted great pains to the work.

15 Dr King. This man (who must be distinguished from the Archbishop of Dublin) was Principal of St Mary Hall at Oxford. Swift had sent the MS to him by the hand of Lord Orrery in 1737, that he might arrange for its publication. Orrery lived until 1762, King until the next year, yet neither of them ever asserted that the work published by Lucas in 1758 was not Swift's.

18. Of it, of Swift's work

S. 6.

19 Mr Lewis, Erasmus Lewis (1670-1754), a Welshman, for a time secretary to the English Ambassador at Paris, then (1704) secretary to Harley, then an Under-Secretary of State After the fall of Lord Oxford's government in 1714, Lewis served his old patron as a sort of steward Swift, Pope, Gay, Arbuthnot, and Prior all valued Lewis' friendship highly, and he was Lord Oxford's "chief favourite"

20. Commenced Irishman, etc, an old use of the verb *commence*, meaning that he began to live as an Irishman, and this continued for the rest of his life Compare the *Life of Milton* (page 16)—"Cromwell commenced monarch under the title of protector," and the *Life of Dryden* (page 3)—"Dryden commenced a writer for the stage"

23 The thoughts of death, etc Compare his letter to Bolingbroke, October 31st, 1729 (Scott, xvii, 259)—"I was forty-seven years old when I began to think of death, and the reflections upon it now begin when I wake in the morning, and end when I am going to sleep"

27 A public table, *i.e.*, by giving a dinner-party Sunday seems to have been a regular day for such parties at the Deanery.

30. Left the country, *viz*, Laracor, where she had spent a good deal of her time during Swift's stay in England

39 Served in plate, his food was served to him in silver dishes *plate* being applied to articles of domestic use, made of gold or silver

Page 14 6 Privately married The question whether these two were really married has been the subject of almost endless discussion Craik, who accepts the marriage, examines the evidence in an appendix That in favour of it consists of (1) the statement of Lord Orrery in 1751 that Stella was "the concealed but undoubted wife" of Dr Swift (2) Delany's remarks in support of this in 1754 Both of these men were intimate friends of Swift (3) In 1789 Mr Monck-Berkeley asserted that he had been told of the marriage by the widow of his relative, the celebrated Bishop Berkeley, who was himself a friend of Swift, and who said that he had the information from Dr Ashe (4) It was also asserted in 1784 by Thomas Sheridan, whose father was a very intimate friend of Swift (5) There are the two references in Johnson (pages 16, 23) to the statements of Madden, who may have obtained his information from the elder Sheridan also (6) Deane Swift in 1755 admitted the doubts which had been cast upon the story, but asserted his own conviction of its truth Against this it may be said that neither Orrery, nor Delany, nor Deane Swift bring forward any sort of evidence, and Orrery, at any rate, had asserted just the opposite nine years earlier. As to the alleged communication between Bishop Ashe and Bishop Berkeley, it can be shown that they never met between the time of the alleged marriage and Ashe's death, though, of course, this does not exclude the possibility of a written communication Sheridan's narrative is discredited by contradictions and inconsistencies, whilst there is no actual proof that Madden was acquainted with any of Swift's circle

Moreover, Mrs Dingley, who for twenty-nine years was Stella's inseparable companion, who was constantly present when Swift and Stella met, and who saw all their correspondence, declared that the story of the marriage was an idle tale It was denied by two of Stella's executors, by two of Swift's housekeepers, and by Dr Lyon, a clergyman who attended Swift in his later years, lived with him at the Deanery, and had full control over his papers No marriage was ever acknowledged by either Swift or Stella, nor did they ever live together No record of the event

has been produced, and though Swift repeatedly speaks of her as a "friend," his most private letters, memoranda, and verses never give her the title of "wife."

"Thou Stella, wert no longer young,
When first for thee my harp was strung,
Without one word of Cnuid's darts,
Of killing eyes or bleeding hearts
With friendship and esteem possessed,
I ne'er admitted love a guest"

"Is it credible," asks Mr Collins, "that a man could have addressed a woman who had been his wife for four years in lines like these—lines intended for no eyes but her own?" In addition, Stella signs herself "Esther Johnson" in her will (which would have been invalidated by a false signature), and speaks of herself as an unmarried woman. And, lastly, "if Swift was the husband of Esther Johnson, it may be admitted that his conduct to Vanessa was at once cruel and mean, cowardly and treacherous, lying and hypocritical. In that case, also, we are justified in believing the very worst of him, not only in his relations with Stella and Vanessa, but in his relations with men and the world. For, in that case, he stands convicted of having passed half his life in systematically practising, and in compelling the woman he loved to practise, the two vices which of all vices he professed to hold in the deepest abhorrence—duplicity and falsehood" (Churton Collins).

7 Dr Ashe, St George Ashe, Fellow and afterwards Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, where Swift was his pupil in after life Ashe was one of the most valued and trusted friends of both Swift and Stella. He was made Bishop of Cloyne in 1695, of Clogher in 1697, of Derry in 1717, and died in 1718.

8 Dr Madden, the Revd Samuel Madden, D D (1686-1765), an Irish clergyman, of Whig politics, and the author of a number of miscellaneous works, in preparing one of which (a Panegyric Poem of over 2,000 lines in honour of Archbishop Boulter) for the press he was assisted by Johnson (Boswell, i, 318). In the *Life of Addison* Johnson says that Madden's was "a name which Ireland ought to honour," but as a writer he seems to have been fairly contemptible.

In the garden of the Deanery

15 A pamphlet, called "A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufactures in Clothes and Furniture in Houses, utterly rejecting and renouncing everything wearable that comes from England" (Scott, vi, 252). "Since the last years of William III," says Craik, "the most iniquitous of a long series of iniquitous laws had crushed out the Irish woollen manufacture, by refusing it the liberty of exportation, and by restricting it to the narrow and precarious market formed by the contraband trade to France." Ironically accepting these restrictions as facts against which there could be no appeal, Swift's pamphlet practically recommends that the Irish should adopt a similar policy with regard to England, by refusing to use anything that came from there. The Irish government treated the pamphlet as an attack on themselves, and Waters, the printer, was prosecuted. "The grand jury were induced to find a true bill. But when the trial came on, the jury refused to find a verdict of guilty. Whitedashed, the Lord Chief Justice, bullied and coaxed and browbeat them by turns. He laid his hand on his breast, and swore that the author's intention was to bring in the Pretender. The jury were stubborn, but at length from very

weariness they brought in a special verdict, which enabled the proceedings to be prolonged. Whiteshed did not relax his efforts, but they were in vain, and when the Duke of Grafton assumed the functions of Lord Lieutenant in the autumn, he stopped the prosecution" (Craik).

22. Hawkesworth. See note to page 1, line 2.

25 Mrs Van Homrigh. Hester Vanhomrigh (the name, according to Orrery, should be pronounced *Vommumery*, for the use of *Mrs* see note to page 5, line 2) belonged to a family who resided near Swift's lodgings in London, and of whom he saw a great deal during his stay in that city, until even Stella began to suspect something. When Swift was about to leave England in 1713, he learnt the true nature of Vanessa's feelings towards him, but on his return he allowed their dangerous intimacy to be renewed, though when he once more left England he wrote to her in very cautious terms. Miss Vanhomrigh then came over to Ireland, living partly at Dublin, partly at Marlay Abbey near Celbridge, a few miles from the capital. In 1723 Vanessa, apparently unable to control herself longer, wrote to Stella to ask if she were Swift's wife, Stella replied that she was, and forwarded the letter to Swift, who immediately rode in a fury to Marlay, and without a word flung Vanessa's letter on the table before her, and galloped away. A few weeks later she died, without ever seeing Swift again. Such, at least, is the story related by Sheridan, who nevertheless represents the marriage of Swift and Stella as being kept an absolute secret. Orrery, on the other hand, relates that Vanessa wrote, not to Stella, but to Swift, and not to ask about his relations with Stella, but about his intentions with reference to herself. Both of these inconsistent narratives are rejected by Mr Churton Collins. "On the value of Orrery's unsupported testimony," he says, "it is scarcely necessary to comment," whilst Sheridan "wrote nearly sixty years after the event he narrates, and is confessedly among the most inaccurate and uncritical of Swift's biographers, his habit of grossly exaggerating whatever he described is notorious, and he has been more than once suspected of enlivening his pages with deliberate fabrications." All, in fact, that is really certain is that Swift and Vanessa, when they did part, parted in anger the cause is unknown.

26 Of wit, as represented in Swift.

29 Decanus, the Latin word from which *dean* has arisen. By transposing some of the letters we get Cadenus, a name assumed by Swift in his poem of *Cadenus and Vanessa* (Scott, xiv, 429) which describes the growth of their intimacy. It was first written in 1713, and revised in 1719; to Swift's dismay and indignation it was published soon after Vanessa's death in May, 1723.

36 Extenuation, something which mitigates and partially excuses a fault. For the "extenuation" here quoted, compare Shakespeare, *Othello*, ii, 3, 241 — "Men are men the best sometimes forget."

40 Plea, excuse.

Page 15 3 By her will "The will contains no such injunction, but it is hardly possible to suppose that the letters were left to the executors without some implied injunction of the kind" (Craik). The executors of the will were Judge Marshall and Bishop Berkeley of Cloyne, the latter of whom decided to suppress the letters, though they have since been made public. The will is given by Scott, xix, 369.

9 Obloquy, the Latin *obloquium*, censure or blame. He wished to *give place* to it, *i. e.*, leave it room to act, so that it might be exhausted by the time of his return. Mr. Churton Collins points out that Swift's

correspondence shows that he had long intended to take this journey, and that, so far from wishing to bury himself in solitude (as represented by Sheridan and Scott), he was extremely vexed that a clergyman who had promised to accompany him, was unable to do so.

12 Informer. A writer of the present day would probably have said *informant*, the other word being now scarcely used except of a man who informs against another for some breach of the law.

17 Largely acquainted, with a large number of acquaintances, an old-fashioned expression

18 Dropt in, a somewhat colloquial expression, applied to a man who comes in unexpectedly

Stella's situation, i.e., they were ignorant of the relations between the lady before them and the Dean, otherwise they would not have introduced a topic which was likely to prove embarrassing to the lady

24 Upon a broomstick This refers to the "Meditation upon a Broomstick according to the Style and Manner of the Honourable Robert Boyle's Meditations" (Scott, *1c*, 118) In his visits to London, Swift spent much of his time with Lord and Lady Berkeley, the latter of whom made him read to her various moral or religious writings At one time she was much interested in Boyle's *Meditations*, but Swift grew very weary of them, and one day slipped into the book a parody of Boyle's style in the shape of a Meditation upon a Broomstick, which he gravely read out to Lady Berkeley and which she took perfectly seriously It was only when she showed the book to some visitors, and Swift's hand-writing was recognised, that the joke was discovered

25 The great acquisition, etc., the principal thing which brought the Dean esteem and influence was the writing of the *Drapier's Letters*. The circumstances under which these letters appeared are described by Johnson, they derived their name from being nominally written by "M B, Drapier," i.e., draper, as we now call a man who sells cloth and the like Letter I (Scott, *vi*, 339) was addressed "To the Tradesmen, Shopkeepers, Farmers, and Country-People in general, of the Kingdom of Ireland," Letter II was "To Mr Harding, the Printer, on occasion of a paragraph in his Newspaper of August 1, 1724" Letter III (August 25, 1724) consisted of "Some Observations on a Paper, called the Report of the Committee of the most Honourable the Privy Council in England, relating to Wood's Halfpence" Letter IV (dated October 23, 1724) is addressed to the Whole People of Ireland; Letter V (December 14, 1724) to Lord Molesworth. Letter VI (October 1724, Scott, *vii*, 5) to Lord Chancellor Mitleton, Letter VII to Both Houses of Parliament. (Scott has thus transposed the fifth and sixth.)

28 Duchess of Munster, Melusina von Schulenberg, a German mistress of George I, who came to England with him, and was made Duchess of Munster (in Ireland), and then Duchess of Kendal She died in 1743 In person she was "tall and lean of stature, and hence was irreverently nicknamed the Maypole" (Thackeray) The duchess received £3,000 a year from the Irish government, in addition to many bribes from those who wished to secure appointments or favours through her influence, Wood, for instance, gave her £10,000.

Patent, an official document issued by the Government, and conferring some right or privilege on the person named in it; the term is now

most commonly applied to the exclusive right to the enjoyment of the profits of his invention which can be obtained by an inventor, by complying with certain conditions

29 One hundred and eighty thousand pounds By this is meant their nominal value in pounds sterling, the actual *weight* being 360 tons, or 806,400 lbs One lb of metal being coined into sixty halfpence, the total value, as Leslie Stephen points out, would be £100,800, though Swift calls it £108,000, and Johnson £180,000

32 Run in debt etc Johnson is taking the case of a man who bought a small quantity of food or drink, worth less than the value of the smallest silver coin, whilst the keeper of the eatinghouse or tavern had not the necessary supply of copper coins to give him change Having money in his hand, he could not very well be refused what he wanted to buy, nor could he be expected to go away without his change, it would be necessary therefore for the shopman to give the buyer credit for what he had taken Thus the buyer, though able to pay, would become a debtor, his silver money being the security for the ultimate payment of the debt, whereas usually it is those who have no money who run into debt, their security being property of some kind other than coin.

37 Wood took care, etc Mr Ryland remarks that there seems to be no evidence for this assertion

38 Turn his brass into gold, i e, make a profit of many thousands of pounds by means of his bronze currency. This and similar expressions take their origin from the efforts of the mediæval alchemists to find a means of *transmuting* the inferior metals into gold.

40 The metal was debased, etc "Swift," remarks Stephen, "either shared or took advantage of the general belief that the mysteries of the currency are unfathomable to the human intelligence. There is however no real mystery about the halfpence The small coins which do not form part of the legal tender may be considered primarily as counters A penny is a penny so long as twelve are changed for a shilling It is not in the least necessary for this purpose that the copper contained in the twelve penny pieces should be worth or nearly worth a shilling A sovereign can never be worth much more than the gold of which it is made But at the present day bronze worth only two pence is coined into twelve penny pieces The small coins must have some intrinsic value to deter forgery, and must be made of good materials to stand wear and tear If these conditions be observed, and a proper number be issued, the value of the penny will be no more affected by the value of the copper, than the value of the banknote by that of the paper on which it is written This opinion assumes that the copper coins cannot be offered or demanded in payment of any but trifling debts The halfpence coined by Wood seem to have fulfilled these conditions," since no one was forced to receive more than fivepence halfpenny in them in any one payment, "and as copper worth twopence (on the lowest computation) was coined into ten halfpence, their intrinsic value was more than double that of modern halfpence They were not, then, objectionable on this ground Nay it would have been as foolish to use more copper for the pence as to make the works of a watch of gold, if brass is equally durable and convenient" The real objection is to be sought elsewhere At the present time the English Government makes a considerable profit annually on the coinage both of silver and copper, but this profit goes into the proper place, namely, the national treasury If Wood's scheme was otherwise financially sound, there was no real objection to a profit being made out of the coinage, but it was "shameful that this profit should be

divided between the King's mistress and William Wood, and that the bargain should be struck without consulting the Irish representatives, and maintained in spite of their protests. A more disgraceful transaction could hardly be imagined, or one more calculated to justify Swift's view of the selfishness and corruption of the English rulers. "Out of the expected profits the Duchess of Kendal had, as we have seen, received £10,000, probably every one else through whose hands the patent passed had something also, and when Wood surrendered his rights he received altogether £24,000 in compensation for the profit he had expected to make."

Page 16 7 The former pamphlet, namely, that on the use of Irish Manufactures, referred to on page 14

8 Frighted, from the verb *to fright*, for which we now use *frighten*

9 Special verdict, a simple statement of the facts proved to the satisfaction of the jury, who then leave the judge to apply the law to them and to decide whether the prisoner is to be pronounced guilty or not.

Presented the Drapier It was Harding, the printer of the letters, who was thrown into prison, and then brought to trial in November, 1724. It is the duty of the *grand jury* to make a preliminary investigation of a charge with the assistance of the judge, if they think fit, they *find a bill* of indictment against the accused person, which is then presented to the *petty jury* before whom the actual trial is conducted, or if the grand jury think there is no foundation for the charge, they can throw out the bill, and the prisoner is discharged. On the occasion referred to here the grand jury was dissolved, and another empanelled, however, the second one not only refused to find a bill against Harding, but actually presented a protest against Wood's halfpence.

11. Lord Carteret John Carteret Granville (1690-1763), Baron Carteret, had discharged his duties as Ambassador to Sweden most successfully, and in 1721 was made one of the Secretaries of State under Walpole. But men like Walpole and Carteret, who were unable to bear any rivals, could not long act in harmony. Carteret acquired great influence over George I., and constantly intrigued against Walpole to form a party of his own. Amongst other things he secretly encouraged the discontent raised in Ireland by Wood's patent in 1723, whereupon Walpole avenged himself by getting Carteret appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and so sending him to suppress the disturbance which he had helped to raise. He held office from 1724 to 1730 when he returned to England and devoted himself to attacking Walpole's government. From 1742-1743 Carteret was a Secretary of State in the "Drunken Administration," and subsequently held other offices. On his mother's death in 1744 he became Earl Granville.

Privy Council, the principal members of the Irish Government who acted as the Lord-Lieutenant's council.

The proclamation referred to was issued on October 27th and is given by Craik in an appendix, it was signed by Middleton the Lord Chancellor, and sixteen others. "My old friend," says Swift, "my Lord Carteret was forced to consent to it the very first or second night of his arrival hither" (Letter of March 23rd, 1734, to Mr Grant Scott, xviii, 185). Whitshed's behaviour is thus described by the Dean in his verses *On the Death of Dr Swift* (Scott, xiv, 333).—

"The dean did by his pen defeat
An infamous destructive cheat;
Taught fools their interest how to know

And gave them arms to ward the blow

To save them from their evil fate
In him was held a crime of state
A wicked monster on the bench,
Whose fury blood could never quench,
Who long all justice has discarded,
Nor feared he god, nor man regarded,
Vowed on the Dean his rage to vent,
And make him of his zeal repent
But Heaven his innocence defends,
The grateful people stand his friends
Not strains of law, nor judge's frown,
Nor topics brought to please the Crown,
Nor witness hired, nor jury picked,
Prevail to bring him in convict "

12 The Fourth Letter, published in October Craik calls it "far the greatest It casts aside the lesser controversy as to the coinage, and its conditions Ireland is summoned to assert her independence with the indignant voice of a nation that has borne her yoke of slavery to a degraded tyrant far too long There is not a line of the letter that is not instinct with life, and thrilling with sarcastic force "

14 Trusted only his butler This story is called by Craik "a foolish invention " When the Privy Council's proclamation was issued, Swift wrote to the Lord Chancellor, defending the Drapier, and almost acknowledging himself the author of the letters "His authorship," continues Craik, ' was notorious , and it is curious that Scott should have repeated stories like these, while on pages immediately following he gives abundant evidence that the Dean was recognised as the Drapier by every street-boy in Dublin The question was only one of legal proof "

Transcribed the paper, made a copy of Swift's manuscript to be sent to the printer

16 Staid, now spelt *stayed*, the other form being reserved for the adjective meaning sedate and sober in manner

19 Livery, the special dress worn by the servants of any particular nobleman or gentleman The word is connected with the French *livrer*, to deliver, being properly a gift of clothes *delivered* by the master to the servant

24 The term of information, the period within which information was to be given by anyone wishing to earn the reward, this was fixed at six months from the date of the proclamation

29 Verger, an official who carries the rod of office (French *verge*, Latin *virga*) before the dean, and takes care of the interior of the cathedral

40 A sign, i.e., used as a sign to distinguish shops and taverns, such being the usual custom in those days, though now our shops have given up the practice, and it remains only in hotels and inns

A health, i.e., the Drapier's health was constantly proposed as a toast to be drunk

Page 17 4 Predatory, plundering, from the Latin *praeda*, prey, *praedari*, to plunder.

8 Archbishop Boulter Hugh Boulter (1671-1742) had been Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and Bishop of Bristol, before being appointed Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland in 1725 Walpole had resolved that Lord Carteret should be governor of Ireland only in name Boulter was the man whom he selected to really govern the country in the English interest, and for nearly nineteen years the Archbishop carried out this duty "He was a man," says Craik, "of undoubted vigour and of admirable business powers No detail escaped him His vigilance was incessant. But he came without one grain of Irish sympathy, and he never obtained or sought to obtain it"

9 The Justices, the Lords-Justices to whom the government of Ireland is entrusted in the absence of the Lord-Lieutenant

10 Exculpated, excused, cleared from blame. from the Latin *ex*, from, *culpa*, blame The incident seems to have occurred about 1736, when Boulter was preparing to lower the standard of the gold coin in Ireland Swift addressed a meeting on the subject, but in spite of the agitation the proposed Proclamation was issued by the Government Swift thereupon hoisted a black flag over his Cathedral He subsequently turned this conversation into a set of verses, called *Ay and No*, a Tale from *Dublin* (Scott, xii, 450)

15 Decline, fail in health and waste away.

17 Was then in England This was from March to August, 1726, a visit paid after twelve years' absence During most of the time he was in a wretched state of anxiety about Stella, being quite aware that his friends in Ireland were concealing the truth as much as possible from him. "Ever since I left you," says he in a letter to Mr Worrall, of July 15th, 1726 (Scott, xvii, 40), "my heart has been so sunk that I have not been the same man, nor ever shall be again, but drag on a wretched life, till it shall please God to call me away. . . I am of opinion that there is not a greater folly than to contract too great and intimate a friendship, which must always leave the survivor miserable" Again, he writes to Sheridan on July 27th—"All my preparations will not suffice to make me bear it like a philosopher, nor altogether like a Christian I have been long weary of the world, and shall for my small remainder of years be weary of life, having for ever lost that conversation which could only make it tolerable"

21 He returned, from April to September, 1727

22 Miscellanies, a collection of miscellaneous writings, *i e*, writings on various subjects see Scott, xiii Arbuthnot and Gay were also contributors to this collection, which represents so much of their project as was carried out by the *Scriblerus Club* This project had been to satirise all the abuses of human learning, as represented in the person of *Martinus Scriblerus*, a foolish and conceited pedant, but it was never fully carried out, though parts of *Gulliver's Travels* and of Pope's *Dunciad* took their origin from it Hence Pope's invocation of Swift at the beginning of the *Dunciad* (i, 19, seq)—

"O Thou! whatever title please thine ear,
Dean, Drapier, Bickerstaff, or Gulliver," &c

The Scriblerus Club included Congreve, Pope, Swift, Arbuthnot, Gay, Parnell, Atterbury, and one or two more

23 Querulous, containing fretful complaints In the *Life of Pope* Johnson says more about this preface, "in which Pope made a ridiculous

complaint of the robberies committed upon authors by the clandestine seizure and sale of their papers."

24 This important year, etc An error, since *Gulliver* was first published in November, 1726 It had been in hand for some time, for Bolingbroke alludes to it in a letter of January, 1721, and Vanessa in another letter probably written about the same date and other allusions in Swift's correspondence show that his friends had talked about the satire for some years

27 Avidity, eagerness

33. The Flying Island of Laputa, into which Gulliver is taken up in Part III, intended more especially to ridicule mathematicians and philosophers

34 Houyhnhnms, the noble race of rational horses, amongst whom Gulliver is thrown in Part IV The description of their manlike attendants, the Yahoos, enables Swift to hold mankind forth "in a light too degrading for contemplation" (Scott, xi, 10) The key to this part at any rate, of the satire will be found in the oft-quoted letter of Swift to Pope, September 29th, 1725 (Scott, xvii, 4) — "I have ever hated all nations, professions, and communities and all my love is toward individuals. . . But principally I hate and detest that animal called man, though I heartily love John, Peter, Thomas, and so forth" In *Gulliver* this hatred and contempt for Man are forcibly embodied, and especially in the last two voyages, in the first two, those to Lilliput and Brobdingnag, the satire is juster and more temperate, and these portions were devoured by the general public with as much interest and wondering credulity, as by children of the present day

36 The King's death George I died on June 9th, 1727, and was succeeded by his son George, Prince of Wales, who had married Caroline of Anspach in 1705

Kissed the hands, etc This ceremony is still performed by any one who receives an appointment directly from the Sovereign.

39 In her exaltation, when she was exalted to the position of Queen Caroline was a woman of considerable ability, who liked to have men of learning around her, and did much to encourage talented men, especially in the Church She possessed great influence over her husband, who submitted in most things to be ruled by her and by Sir Robert Walpole

Page 18-3 Some medals, etc Compare Swift's letter to Lady Betty German, dated January 8th, 1733 (Scott, xviii, 60) — "It is six years last spring since I first went to visit my friends in England after the Queen's death Her present Majesty heard of my arrival, and sent at least nine times to command my attendance before I would obey her . . . At last I went, and she received me very graciously . . . When I took my leave of her highness, on coming hither, she was very gracious, told me the medals she had promised me were not ready, but she would send them to me However, by her commands, I sent her some plaids for herself and the princesses, and was too gallant to hear of any offers of payment" The letter discloses other grounds of complaint against the Queen, besides the matter of the medals, which is referred to again in the lines *On the Death of Dr Swift* (Scott, xiv, 323) —

"The queen, so gracious, mild, and good,
 Cries, Is he gone ! 'tis time he should
 He's dead, you say , then let him rot
 I'm glad the medals were forgot
 I promised him, I own, but when?
 I only was the Princess then ,
 But now as consort of the King,
 You know, 'tis quite another thing "

7 Mrs Barber, an Irish poetess (and woollen-draper) whom Swift, Lord Carteret, and others had befriended. In 1731, whilst she was in London, three letters, full of the most lavish praises of her, were sent to the Queen, one in particular (given in Scott, xvii, 358) being signed with Swift's name. The Dean hastened to disavow them, both through Pope (letter of July 20th, 1731 Scott, xvii, 367), and through Lady Suffolk, the King's mistress (July 24th, 1731 Scott, xvii, 370) "I scorn to defend myself," he says to the latter, "even to her Majesty . . . Why I should disguise my hand, which you know very well, and yet write my name, is both ridiculous and unaccountable." The concoction of this letter still remains a mystery, though (in Craik's opinion) "of all possible solutions that is most unlikely which would ascribe it to Swift."

13 Shuffles is used literally of a person who moves in a slovenly manner, dragging his feet along the ground, hence it is metaphorically applied to one who tries to avoid giving a direct and straightforward answer, by shifting his ground and equivocating.

15 Recommencing courtier, becoming a courtier again. The use of the verb is similar to that of *commence* on page 13, line 20.

16 Mrs. Howard (1681-1767), sister of the Earl of Buckinghamshire, and wife of the Hon Charles Howard, afterwards created Earl of Suffolk. She was a mistress of George II, and was opposed to the party of the Queen and Walpole, but it is now clear that, though Mrs Howard had every inclination to assist both Swift and Gay, she had not the power, in all matters of business, the King seems to have followed the advice of his wife and minister.

17 Mrs Masham, Abigail Hill, a cousin of the first Duchess of Marlborough, whom she gradually supplanted in Queen Anne's favour. In 1707 Abigail (then bedchamber-woman to the Queen) privately married Samuel Masham, groom of the bedchamber to the Queen's husband, Prince George. The Duchess being a Whig, Mrs Masham sided with the Tories, to whose success in 1710 she contributed not a little. Masham was in 1712 raised to the peerage, and his wife became Lady Masham. In 1714 she quarrelled with Lord Oxford, and aided Bolingbroke to procure his dismissal, but on the Queen's death she retired from the Court. She died in 1734.

19 Wanted power, had not the necessary influence over the King and his ministers.

20 Not long afterwards, in August, 1727 compare the letter of August 12th to Dr Sheridan (Scott, xvii, 129). On September 2nd he writes—"I walk like a drunken man, and am deaf than ever you knew me."

21 He then left, etc. Partly owing to his illness, partly to his distress about Stella, Swift quitted Pope's house at Twickenham rather abruptly, leaving a letter for Pope at Gay's lodgings, of which Pope says—"Your

kind letter affected me so much that it made me like a girl" (Scott, xvii, 141) On October 12 the Dean wrote again to Pope from Dublin, to make still further apologies—"You are the best and kindest friend in the world, and I know nobody, alive or dead, to whom I am so much obliged. But it has pleased God that you are not in a state of health to be mortified with the care and sickness of a friend. Two sick friends never did well together, such an office is fitter for servants and humble companions, to whom it is wholly indifferent whether we give them trouble or not." On October 30 Swift writes again to Pope to enquire after his health, and to invite him to Dublin. Accordingly, Scott (i, 330) charges Johnson with giving the incident "a malevolent turn" in this paragraph.

27 In her forty-fourth year. She was born in 1681, and so was nearly forty-seven at the time of her death. Swift preserved a lock of her hair in an envelope, on which he wrote the oft-discussed words *Only a woman's hair*. "What does it mean?" asks Stephen. "Our interpretation will depend partly upon what we can see ourselves in a lock of hair. But I think that anyone who judges Swift fairly will read in those four words the most intense utterance of tender affection, and of pathetic yearning for the irrevocable past, strangely blended with a bitterness springing not from remorse, but indignation at the cruel tragic comedy of life."

28 His papers shew. One or two quotations from his letters of 1726 have already been given. Those of 1727 betray the same agony of mind. On August 29th he writes to Sheridan (Scott, xvii, 134)—"I have had your letter of the 19th, and expect, before you read this, to receive another from you with the most fatal news that can ever come to me, unless I should be put to death for some ignominious crime." On September 2nd he says—"I have just received yours of August 24th, I kept it an hour in my pocket with all the suspense of a man who expected to hear the worst news that fortune could give him. I never was in such agonies as when I had your letter in my pocket."

36 Order of Providence, the general course of things, as arranged by the Providence which watches over the world, and which has instituted the marriage-tie.

38 A match, *i.e.*, marriage. A Belfast clergyman, named Tisdall, who had known Swift at Kilroot and again in Dublin, proposed for Stella's hand in 1704. Deane Swift asserts that Swift insisted upon terms to which Tisdall could not yield, whilst Sheridan attributes his rejection to Stella alone, but neither authority is worth very much.

Page 19. 1. Make assurance, etc. From Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, iv, 1—

"Then live, Macduff! what need I fear of thee?
But yet I'll make assurance double sure,
And take a bond of fate: thou shalt not live!"

7 Own, acknowledge, a sense in which the word is etymologically distinct from *own*, meaning to possess.

9 When he offered, etc. The evidence bearing on this disputed matter is examined by Craik (Appendix v), who decides in favour of the story as given by Delany (writing in 1754)—"I well knew a friend to whom Stella opened herself, declaring that the Dean's temper was so altered, and his attention to money so increased, her own health at the same time gradually impaired, that she could not take upon herself the care of his house and economy, and therefore refused to be publicly owned for his wife, as he earnestly desired she should. It was then, she said, too late, and therefore better that they should live on as they had hitherto done." Delany

then speaks of this resolution as being strengthened, not long after, by the publication of *Cadenus and Vanessa* (1723) the incident would therefore belong to 1722, or thereabouts. This account is to some extent confirmed by a letter from Deane Swift to Lord Orrery, written whilst Swift was still alive, and asserting on the authority of Mrs Whiteway (see page 22,) that Stella had made a statement to the above effect to Swift's great friend, Dr Sheridan, who, therefore, was probably the "friend" mentioned by Delany.

If this represented the real facts, then we should have to reject the much harsher account given by the younger Sheridan in 1784, and also professing to be derived from Dr Sheridan. We are here asked to believe that, a few days only before her death, Stella implored Swift to acknowledge her as his wife. "Swift made no reply, but turning on his heel, walked silently out of the room, nor ever saw her afterwards." But Sheridan was writing forty-six years after the death of his father, and could not have been more than 17 at the time he discussed the matter with him, so that the authority for this version is distinctly weak. Moreover, Sheridan informs us that Stella was so enraged by the above incident that, to annoy Swift, she bequeathed all her property to a public charity. Swift's correspondence, however, and Stella's will show that this is an absurd misstatement, and this tends to discredit Sheridan's evidence. Mr Churton Collins, who rejects the story of the marriage altogether, of course regards both these accounts as being fictions.

19 Literature, learning, acquaintance with books. Stella's spelling is several times corrected by Swift in the *Journal*, e.g., he suggests *Whigs* instead of *Wiggs*, *ale*, for *aile*, *ridiculous* for *rediculous*.

20 Vaunted, boasted of. To *vaunt* comes from the Fr *vante*, itself derived from the Latin *vanus*, vain, empty.

21 The smart sayings, etc., under the name of "Bons Mots de Stella" (Scott ix, 286), *bon mot* being French for a good saying. "Of these *bons mots*," says Scott, "the reader will probably think some flat and others coarse, but enough will remain to vindicate the praises of Stella's wit."

23 Letter to a Lady, etc., "A Letter to a Very Young Lady on her Marriage" (Scott, ix, 203).

25 Implicitly, with complete confidence, without any reserve.

28 Perhaps only local, dependent on the particular position and surroundings in which Swift saw her.

30 Some Remarks, etc. Cunningham suspected that Johnson was alluding to a paper of remarks by Dr Lyon printed by Nichols, in 1779, in a supplemental volume to Swift's Works. Dr Lyon was a clergyman who had Swift in his charge during the last years of his life.

31 Dr Madden. See page 14, line 8.

32 Dr Sheridan, a clergyman and schoolmaster, who was perhaps the most intimate friend whom Swift had in Ireland. His easy, kindly nature, his wit and humour, attracted Swift, who did his best to improve Sheridan's worldly circumstances, but here Sheridan's character stood in the way. Nevertheless, "through carelessness, errors, disputes, and misfortunes, Sheridan preserved his unruffled temper to the last, and finally died in poverty, having missed a dozen chances of competence and even wealth" (Craik).

36 In Ireland, etc. The state of Ireland at that time was lamentable beyond description (see Collins' *Swift*, 161-167), and the contemplation of

it had an extraordinary effect upon Swift "It fevered his blood, it broke his rest, it drove him at times half-frantic with furious indignation, it sunk him at times in abysses of sullen despondency" Compare his letter of April 13th, 1731 (Scott, xvii, 339) — "I have lived sixteen years in Ireland, with only an intermission of two summers in England, and, consequently, am fifty years older than I was at the queen's death, and fifty thousand times duller, and fifty million times more peevish, perverse, and morose"

39 He tells Pope, etc., in the letter of October 12, 1727, written immediately after his last visit to England "If it pleases God," he says, "to restore me to my health, I shall readily make a third journey, if not, we must part as all human creatures have parted. You are the best and kindest friend in the world," &c., see note to page 18 line 21

Page 20 5 Exigency, pressing need, circumstances demanding immediate attention

7 Poem on the Presbyterians, called "On the words *Brother Protestants* and *Fellow Christians*, so familiarly used by the Advocates for the Repeal of the Test Act in Ireland 1733" (Scott, xii, 416) The lines on Bettesworth are—

"Thus at the bar the booby Bettesworth,
Though half a crown o'er pays his sweat's worth,
Who knows in law nor text nor margin,
Calls Singleton his brother serjeant."

(The Singleton thus honourably contrasted with him afterwards became Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and finally Master of the Rolls. The title *serjeant-at-law* is now obsolete)

8 Stricture, censure, hostile criticism This is the antecedent to *which* in the next line but one

11 Went to Swift. Swift professed not to know who his visitor was till he latter announced himself to be Serjeant Bett-es-worth "Of what regiment, pray?" was Swift's reply, according to the common story His own account of the interview, however, is not quite the same, see his letter to the Duke of Dorset, of January, 1734 (Scott, xviii, 174)

15 Lampooned, satirised, especially if the satire is of an abusive and libellous nature The French *lampon* originally meant a drinking-song, from the exclamation *lampons*, let us drink

17 I am not the author This is generally admitted to be a legitimate way of meeting an attempt to pry behind the veil of anonymity Boswell (iii, 376) records that Johnson was once speaking of the authorship of the *Letters of Junius*, and remarked—"I know no man but Burke who is capable of writing these letters, but Burke spontaneously denied it to me The case would have been different had I asked him if he was the author, *a man so questioned as to an anonymous publication may think he has a right to deny it*" This question of casuistry was discussed again by him on June 13th, 1784 (Boswell, iv, 305-6)

20 A violent revenge Bettesworth is said to have threatened to cut off Swift's ears

21 Embodied themselves, formed themselves into a body

28 Accountant, the French form of the word which we now spell *accountant*

29 Punctilious, very attentive to small particulars of conduct. A nice point of behaviour is called a *punctilio*, from the Spanish *puntillo*, a small point.

33 To be sued, i. e., he brought a legal suit against them

35 Catchpoll, a somewhat contemptuous name (now obsolete) for a bailiff, or sheriff's officer, employed to arrest debtors. The word arose in Old French out of the mediæval Latin *cassare pullum*, to catch a fowl, hence it literally means "one who catches fowls," and was originally applied to a taxgatherer.

37. Own, admit, acknowledge.

Page 21 4 Vive la bagatelle French for "Long live trifles!" This seems to have been a favourite maxim with Prior, from whom Swift and Bolingbroke probably adopted it. It frequently occurs in their correspondence. *E.g.*, on May 29th, 1718, Prior writes to Swift—"If you are once got into *la bagatelle*, you may despise the world" (Scott, xvi, 297). Again, on April 25th, 1721, he says—"If we have not lived long enough to prefer the *bagatelle* to anything else, we deserved to have had our brains knocked out ten years ago" (xvi, 353). In a letter, dated July 23, 1726, to "the three Yahoos of Twickenham, Jonathan, Alexander, and John" (i.e., Swift, Pope, and Gay), Lord Bolingbroke hopes "that Jonathan's imagination of business will be succeeded by some imagination more becoming a professor of that divine science, *la bagatelle*" (Scott, xvii, 46). Swift himself speaks of *Vive la bagatelle* as his rule (letter to Gay, July 10th, 1732. Scott, xviii, 11). In a letter of February 11th, 1692 (Scott, xv, 240), he told his correspondent that "a person of great honour in Ireland" had compared his mind to "a conjured spirit, that would do mischief if I would not give it employment." Hence as time went on, and Swift became more solitary and gloomy, he displayed an increasing tendency to find relief from his thoughts in the composition of all manner of trifles and rubbish, much of which he burnt himself as soon as he had written it.

8 Gaining upon age, acquiring more influence over men in proportion as they get older

19 The Legion Club This poem, the full title of which is "A Character, Panegyric, and Description of the Legion Club" (Scott, xii, 435), was aimed at those members of the House of Commons who had supported the Irish landowners in their refusal to pay the tithe of pasturage to the clergy. "It seems," says Collins, "to boil, a blasting flood of filth and vitriol, out of some hellish fountain".

Swift's condition at this time is described by himself in a letter to Pope, of December 2nd, 1736 (Scott, xiv, 14)—"Years and infirmities have quite broke me, I mean that odious continual disorder in my head. I neither read, nor write, nor remember, nor converse. All I have left is to walk and ride; the first I can do tolerably, but the latter, for want of good weather at this season, is seldom in my power, and having not an ounce of flesh about me, my skin comes off in ten miles' riding, because my skin and bone cannot agree together."

25 Please themselves, etc., provide for themselves whatever they pleased

37 Polite Conversation, "A Complete Collection of Genteel and Ingenious Conversation, according to the most Polite Mode and Method, now used at Court, and in the best Companies of England. In three Dialogues. By Simon Wagstaff, Esq." (Scott, ix, 3). The ironical

introduction to this work shows that it was Swift's intention to ridicule the affected use of cant words and phrases, which often pass for wit in fashionable society. The manuscript was sent by Swift to the Mrs. Barber mentioned on page 18, that she might make what profit she could out of it, for she had written to him that she was in great distress, her literary projects abandoned, her health failing, and debts accumulating. He subsequently sent her the 'S of one of his best poems, the *Rhapsody on Poetry*, for a similar purpose. Whatever may be said of Swift's "avarice," it should always be remembered that he never cared to make money out of his writings the one exception being *Gulliver*, for which he is said to have received £300, and even that only through Pope's efforts.

38 Directions for Servants, Scott, xi, 365. Of this work (which was left unfinished) Swift himself thought highly, considering it both useful and humorous. He refers to both it and the *Polite Conversation* in a letter of 1731, as having been begun "above twenty-eight years ago" (Scott, xvii, 356).

Page 22 5 Legal guardians, etc. This was in March, 1742 (or according to the old style, 1741). In the following August a Commission was appointed *de lunatico inquirendo*, which decided that Swift was incapable of taking care either of his person or his estate (Collins' *Swift*, Appendix 11).

6 Lost distinction, ceased to be able to distinguish between different persons.

It has been commonly supposed that Swift's insanity began with his early attacks of giddiness and deafness, and gradually developed in the course of his life. That Swift himself anticipated such a fate, and always had the horror of it hanging over him, we know for certain. Yet modern medical science seems to have shown satisfactorily that this was not the case Swift had, as we have seen, long suffered from labyrinthine vertigo, giving rise to attacks of deafness and giddiness. If this disorder had run its course it could probably have ended simply in complete deafness. "But on this disorder supervened, between 1738 and 1742, dementia (loss of mental power), with hemiplegia and aphasia (inability to find words), the dementia arising from general decay of the brain occasioned by age, the hemiplegia and aphasia resulting from disease of a particular part of the brain, probably the third left frontal convolution" Churton Collins, 241). If this is correct, it is unlikely that the sane part of Swift's life was in any way affected by latent insanity, and this theory can no longer be tendered as an explanation of his peculiarities. A study of the plaster cast taken from his face after death has shown that he undoubtedly had a stroke of paralysis, but until this happened, to complete the work of old age, no mind, in Mr Collins' opinion, was ever saner or more rational than that of Swift.

7 Rage and fatuity, the violent and silly forms of madness respectively *fatuity* being derived from the Latin *fatuus*, a fool. In 1742 Swift seems to have had an attack of acute mania, though without delusions, and therefore perhaps simply due to the agony of the tumour mentioned below by Johnson, this was succeeded by more or less complete fatuity, or, as a doctor would now term it, dementia.

8 Mrs. Whiteway, a cousin of Swift's, and mother-in-law of Deane Swift. The latest of Swift's preserved letters are addressed to Mrs. Whiteway. "I have been very miserable all night," he says in one, "and today extremely deaf and full of pain. I am so stupid and

confounded that I cannot express the mortification I am under both in body and mind All I can say is that I am not in torture , but I daily and hourly expect it. I hardly understand one word that I write. If I do not blunder, it is Saturday, July 26, 1740."

17. Tumour, a swelling produced by disease This was in September, 1742

19 Lethargic, affected with lethargy, a state of stupor and indifference, from which it is difficult or impossible to rouse a person, from the Greek *lethargos*, from *lethe*, forgetfulness "There was no longer any frenzied resistance to the mental decay The fierce exercise by which he had striven to defy his torture was now over : he could scarcely be persuaded to move from his chair , and his body, which had shrunk to skin and bone, now recovered its plumpness" (Crail)

22. Were preparing, i. e , were *a-preparing*, were being prepared

23 Celebrate his birth-day It had been his custom on his birth-day to read that chapter of the Bible in which Job curses the day of his birth (*Job*, iii) compare Swift's letter to Mrs Whiteway, November 27, 1738 (Scott, xix , 167), in which he adds that he detests the day.

27. October 1744, really October 19th, 1745

28 Without a struggle For thirty-six hours he was convulsed with violent fits of an epileptic nature then complete exhaustion followed, and he died quietly at the last In accordance with his will he was buried privately at midnight, on October 22nd, in St Patrick's Cathedral The Latin inscription on his grave had been composed by the Dean himself, and is to this effect—"The body of Jonathan Swift, Dean of this Cathedral church, is laid here where fierce indignation can no longer lacerate his heart Go, stranger, and, if thou canst, imitate that strenuous champion of liberty "

34 Confederated, allied, united with

36 Was his debtor, from Swift's verses *On the Death of Dr Swift*, written in November, 1731 (Scott, xiv., 317). The concluding lines are —

"He gave the little wealth he had
To build a house for fools and mad .
And shewed by one satiric touch,
No nation wanted it so much
That kingdom he had left his debtor,
I wish it soon may have a better."

41 Those rights, etc. Led by Henry Grattan, the Irish Parliament had in 1780 extorted from the English Government the removal of all those restrictions upon trade against which Swift had protested, and the grant of commercial equality This however did not stop the agitation, and the Irish leaders proceeded to demand legislative independence

Page 23 5. Has little resemblance, etc This has not been the general opinion of critics, nor has the work attained such a reputation as *Gulliver's Travels*, "to the merits of which," says Stephen, "Johnson was curiously blind " At the same time Stephen admits that Swift's style "reaches its highest point in the earlier work. There is less flagging, a greater fulness and pressure of energetic thought , a power of hitting the nail on the head at the first blow, which has declined in the work of

his maturer years, when life was weary and thought intermittent."

11. Equable tenour, an even and uniform course.

15 Purity, i. e., of diction, the avoidance of incorrect or barbarous words and expressions

Strictures, criticisms of various forms of expression.

16. Solecisms, violations of grammar or idiom - the Latin *solæcismus*, from the Greek *soloikos*, speaking incorrectly like an inhabitant of *Solos*, a Greek colony in Cilicia (in Asia Minor).

19. Complication, the manner in which they are combined or interwoven.

20. Inconsequence, the absence of logical connection.

23 Nice disquisitions, elaborate discussions of points requiring careful discrimination

Conceits A *conceit* was originally anything *conceived* in the mind, i. e., a thought or idea, but it was especially applied to a quaint and fanciful thought or turn of expression

31 Asperities, in the original sense, as applied to rough inequalities in the surface of the ground Johnson hits off the characteristic qualities of Swift's style very successfully The popularity of his pamphlets was largely due to the fact that he gave clear expression to popular prejudices, he invented arguments for those who could not invent them for themselves, and put into definite form the ideas that were floating vaguely in the public mind So long as the desired *effect* was produced, Swift cared little for elegances of style, or (in some cases) even for truth.

34 Didactic, intended to convey instruction

41. The Church-of-England Man. See page 6

Page 24 3 A Churchman rationally zealous Swift's conception of religion seems to have been almost wholly political In his view, the State should define what constitutes religion, and to that every man should be compelled to adhere Hence, the Church of England being the State-Church, all others, whether Roman Catholics, Nonconformists, or Deists, are equally denounced by Swift he makes no distinction between them He even contends that the truth or falsehood of the fundamental beliefs of Christianity are of little importance, compared with the mischief involved in arguing about them, and that a man may have what doubts he likes, provided he keeps them to himself, and conforms outwardly See Collins' *Swift*, 243-248 Scott, viii., 53, &c

4 The honour of the clergy Of this Swift was always most tenacious. He found the inferior clergy, as a body, ranked lower than any other educated class, and it was he who first strove to rouse a better spirit in them, and to vindicate for them a better position in society Accordingly, the more famous he became, the more careful was he to identify himself with his order In public he always appeared in clerical dress, and he would leave any gathering in which the conversation threatened to become profane or immodest Whatever licence he allowed himself in his anonymous writings, "his conversation," says Delany, "was remarkably delicate and pure beyond those of most men I was ever acquainted with."

8 Economy, formerly spelt *æconomy*, the Greek *oikonomia*, literally, household management, but also applied to the business-like management of any kind of affairs.

11. Choir, the trained singers attached to the cathedral

14. Communion, a name given to the partaking of bread and wine, in memory of the last supper of Christ with his disciples before his betrayal and crucifixion this service is also known as the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or of the Eucharist.

15 Sacramental elements, the bread and wine referred to above.

17 Anthem, a portion of Scripture, or some similar composition, set to music, the word comes through the Anglo-Saxon *antefn* from the Greek *anti-phonos*, spoken in turn, since the anthem was sung in alternate portions by the two halves of the choir.

19 Read the service, etc. The quotation is from Lord Orrery's *Remarks, &c*

22 With hope to excel Delany tells us that Swift used to speak of his early hopes of attaining such eminence as might lead people to ask on a Sunday morning, "Pray, does the Doctor preach to-day?"

24 Could only preach pamphlets, his sermons were in the style of political pamphlets. Only twelve of Swift's sermons have been preserved (Scott, vii, viii), and of these several deal with the political and social grievances which he was continually attacking. Others deal vigorously with moral topics, whilst only one is on a purely theological subject

34 Had formerly asserted. Compare the note to page 24, line 3 "The want of a belief," said Swift, "is a defect which ought to be concealed when it cannot be overcome" (*Thoughts on Religion*, Scott, viii, 54).

38 The person of Swift, etc. In youth he was reckoned handsome. In later life his person is described by Scott (partly from the extant portraits) as "tall, strong, and well made, of a dark complexion, but with blue eyes, black and bushy eyebrows, nose somewhat aquiline, and features which remarkably expressed the stern, haughty, and dauntless turn of his mind. He was never known to laugh, and his smiles are happily characterized by the well-known lines of Shakespeare on Cassius—

Seldom he smiles, and smiles in such a sort,
As if he mocked himself, and scorned his spirit,
That could be moved to smile at anything."

Page 25. 5 Discover, disclose, reveal Delany, however, informs us that Swift was really "one of the best masters in the world," that he paid his servants a very high rate of wages, and that he did all he could to encourage them to be thrifty.

14 In his economy, etc. As already noticed, Swift's passion for saving did not spring from the love of money of the ordinary miser, but from a passionate desire of independence. Hence it was combined with a generosity that was really splendid. In his later years he lived on a third of his income, giving away a third in charity, and saving the remaining third for the posthumous charity mentioned below. Johnson is compelled to modify his censure a little lower down, whilst Boswell quotes this passage as exemplifying Johnson's "unfavourable bias" against Swift.

20 The purpose, etc Swift left all his money (amounting to ten or eleven thousand pounds) to trustees for the foundation of a Hospital for Lunatics and Incurables The endowment was increased by gifts from others, and St Patrick's Hospital was opened in 1757.

39 Told by Pope, and preserved in Spence's *Anecdotes*

Page 26, 2 Gay, John Gay (1685-1732), poet and dramatist He seems to have made the acquaintance of Pope and Swift about 1711, and they used their influence to procure him appointments and patrons, but he was always inclined to laziness and extravagance His best known works are the *Fables* (1727), and the *Beggars' Opera* (1728), which was first suggested by Swift, and the success of which was enormous Gay died in 1732 after only three days' illness, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, with the flippant couplet on his monument—

"Life is a jest, and all things show it
I thought so once, and now I know it "

Swift's published correspondence contains a large number of letters from and to Gay The last written by him to Swift is dated November 16th, 1732 on December 5th Pope wrote to announce that Gay had died the night before On the letter is indorsed in Swift's hand—"On my dear friend Mr Gay's death Received December 15th, but not read till the 20th, by an impulse foreboding some misfortune."

3 Heyday, an exclamation of surprise

10 Not eight o'clock. For centuries the fashionable dinner hour in England has been growing later and later, in the time of Swift it was commonly three o'clock, so that some kind of supper was required in the evening.

27 Licentiousness, unrestrained freedom and license, not in its more usual sense of sexual immorality.

37 Dictates, etc This is taken from Orrery—"He assumed more the air of a patron than of a friend He affected rather to dictate than advise "

Page 27 3 Told the same tales, etc Compare Swift's own verses on his *Death* (Scott, xiv, 320)—

"—Thus methinks I hear them speak —
See how the Dean begins to break !
Poor gentleman, he droops apace !
You plainly find it in his face,
That old vertigo in his head
Will never leave him till he's dead
Besides, his memory decays
He recollects not what he says,
He cannot call his friends to mind,
Forgets the place where last he dined,
Plies you with stories o'er and o'er,
He told them fifty times before "

8 Knew the minutes, etc "His hours," says Orrery, " of walking and reading never varied His motions were guided by his watch, which was so constantly held in his hand, or placed before him on

his table, that he seldom deviated many minutes in the daily revolution of his exercises and employments "

17 By courtesy, by the favour or indulgence of others, instead of by right

19 With helpless indignity He is treated with contempt, and at the same time is unable to do anything in the matter, since he has thrust himself where he has no business to be If, on the other hand, he is tolerated by the other, it is only because of the latter's condescension, which a self-respecting man would not care to submit to.

30 Arbuthnot, John Arbuthnot (1667-1735), physician, and one of the leading "wits" of his day He was a member of the Brothers' Club (see page 7), and of the Scriblerus Club, and the author of various satires, such as *The Art of Political Lying* (Scott's *Swift*, vi, 164), the *History of John Bull* (Scott, vi, 3), and the *Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus* "He hath," says Swift, "every quality in the world that can make a man amiable and useful," adding that, if there were a dozen Arbuthnots in the world, he would burn the satire on mankind contained in *Gulliver's Travels* (letter to Pope, September 29th, 1725 · Scott, xvii, 5) Arbuthnot's last letter to Swift is dated October 4, 1734, he died in the following March, and Swift wrote to Pope in May that the deaths of Arbuthnot and Gay had been terrible wounds near his heart (Scott, xviii, 281)

Engrossed, absorbed the whole of

33 Shade, paint in dark colours; they sullenly rival each other in drawing as dark a picture as possible of their age.

Page 28 2 Procured an exchange In a letter of August 2, 1731 (Scott, xvii, 374), Bolingbroke tells Swift that he had two or three projects on foot for tempting him to quit Ireland "One of them would have been agreeable in every respect, if engagements to my lady's kinsman had not prevented it Another of them cannot take place without the consent of those who would rather have you a dean in Ireland than a parish priest in England." Other difficulties are then mentioned, which Bolingbroke hopes may be overcome in time On July 18, 1732 (Scott, xviii, 15), he writes that a Mr Talbot, of Burfield in Berkshire, was willing to make an exchange But this living was worth only £400, and the exchange was too unfavourable for Swift to be carried out.

13. Turpitude, baseness, depravity: from the Latin *turpis*, disgraceful Stephen remarks that Swift's indulgence in revolting images is all the more remarkable because he was a man of the most scrupulous personal cleanliness, and rigorously observant of decency in ordinary conversation. "In truth, his intense repugnance to certain images led him to use them as the only adequate expression of his savage contempt. He becomes disgusting in the effort to express his disgust."

14 Gulliver, etc. See note to page 17, line 34. "The Yahoo," says Stephen, "is the embodiment of the bestial element in man; and Swift in his wrath takes the bestial for the predominating element. The hideous, filthy, lustful monster yet asserts its relationship to him in the most humiliating fashion: and he traces in its conduct the resemblance to all the main activities of the human being."

30. In order to, with the view of securing.

32 Emoluments, the profits derived from any office or employment.

40 The First-Fruits, etc See page 7

42 Giving occasion to, etc In his *Project for the Advancement of Religion* (see page 7) Swift had said—"I shall therefore mention but one more particular, which I think the Parliament ought to take under consideration, whether it be not a shame to our country, and a scandal to Christianity, that in many towns, where there is a prodigious increase in the number of homes and inhabitants, so little care should be taken for the building of churches, that five parts in six of the people are absolutely hindered from hearing divine service? particularly here in London, where a single minister, with one or two sorry curates, has the care sometimes of above twenty thousand souls incumbent on him, a neglect of religion so ignominious, in my opinion, that it can hardly be equalled in any civilised age or country." This passage (published in 1709) is said to have stimulated some of the Bishops to procure the passing of a Bill by Harley's government (1710) for the building of fifty new churches in London

Page 29 23. Numbers, versification, metre.

25 His own definition, in a *Letter to a Young Clergyman*, written in 1720 (Scott, viii, 199)—"Proper words in proper places make the true definition of a style"

28. Gross, coarse

29. To, in accordance with He often allowed himself to be carried away by the feeling of the moment, without deferring to his better judgment.

33. Take a single thought, etc This is asserted in Swift's verses on his own Death (Scott, xiv, 329)—

"As for his works in verse and prose,
I own myself no judge of those,
Nor can I tell what critics thought 'em,
But this I know, all people bought 'em,
As with a moral view designed,
To cure the vices of mankind
His vein, ironically grave,
Exposed the fool and lashed the knave.
To steal a hint was never known,
But what he writ was all his own"

But Cunningham points out that the last line is itself stolen from Denham's verses on Cowley—

"To him no author was unknown,
Yet what he wrote was all his own."

"No writer," remarks Stephen, "has ever been more thoroughly original than Swift, for his writings are simply himself." Nor does the fact of taking an occasional hint from elsewhere detract from this originality, any more than the fact of lighting your candle at a neighbour's fire affects your ownership of the candle (Swift's *Letter of Advice to a Young Poet*. Scott, ix, 187)

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